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I PROPOSE in this address to speak chiefly of the subjects which engage the student during his theological years. Before I am drawn too far into that wide field, I will discharge a pleasant duty to our undergraduates by making public mention of those among them whose names appear in the list of successful competitors for prizes and certificates in last session's classes of University College. In October last, four students of Manchester New College received this honourable notice; at present, I have to give the same good report of five. Mr. Howse has obtained four certificates of honour; in the Junior German class, the first certificate with prize; in the Senior Latin, a fourth certificate; and the sixth certificate in each of two classes, the Senior Greek and Lower Senior Mathematics. Mr. Coupland has obtained a fifth certificate in the Senior Latin class:—Mr. Pillars, a sixth certificate in the Higher Junior Mathematics, and a seventh in the Junior Latin:—Mr. Dowson, a third certificate in the Higher Junior Mathematics, and a seventh in the Senior Latin:—and Mr. William John Smyth, a sixth certificate in the Junior Latin. These are creditable distinctions; but will not, I trust, induce the students to try themselves too habitually by any merely accidental standard, to the injury of those higher and disinterested aims which no pupil of a De Morgan, a Malden, or a Newman, has any excuse for forgetting.

Since we were last assembled in this Hall, an event has occurred which, though remote from the immediate action of this Institution, belongs to its domestic history, and by a sad memorial divides its present from its past. That venerable man whose name has been on the lips of its *alumni* since the first years of the present century, and to whom it owes almost all its theological honours, has laid his burthen down and been called to the Christian's rest.* It is a gentle sorrow with which a life of fourscore years and ten, a life full of graces as of time, is seen to

* Rev. Charles Wellbeloved, Theological Tutor and Head of the College during its York period from 1803 to 1840, died Aug. 29, in the 90th year of his age and the 67th of his ministry in York.

fade away; and even by the nearest in affection the farewell, so mercifully delayed, may be said in tones trembling with tenderness rather than with grief. But still, these final partings, soften them as we may, have a significance for us that belongs to nothing else; and those of us who have been pupils of Mr. Wellbeloved would ill deserve the privilege, could we see his name erased from the list of the living without a pause of reverential thought. Permit me, then, before speaking the words required from me as a teacher in this College, to fall back for a moment into the position of a student, to recall the priceless memories of that eager and thirsting time, and once more turn a grateful look to the benignant form now sinking into the shadows of the past. Well do I remember the respectful wonder with which we saw, as our course advanced, vein after vein of various learning modestly opened out: the pride with which we felt that we had a Lightfoot, a Jeremiah Jones, and an Eichhorn all in one, yet no mere theologian after all, but scarcely less a naturalist and an archæologist as well: the impatience with which, out of very homage to his wisdom, we almost resented his impartial love of truth in giving us the most careful epitome of other opinions with scarce the suggestion of his own. Many of us have found the notes taken in his lecture-room our best Cyclopædia of divinity during the first years of our active ministry, when books were forced aside by other claims; and when at last some leisure for independent study has been won, and the entrance of the theological sciences upon new phases has taken us into untried fields, then most of all, if I may generalize my own experience, have we been thankful for our training under a master of the true Lardner type, candid and catholic, simple and thorough, humanly fond indeed of the counsels of peace, but piously serving every bidding of sacred truth. Whatever might become of the particular conclusions which he favoured, he never justified a prejudice; he never misdirected our admiration; he never hurt an innocent feeling or overbore a serious judgment; and he set up within us a standard of Christian scholarship to which it must ever exalt us to aspire. The generation in whom his memory lives is no longer large: but if we are a "*faithful* few," we shall see to it, that his name shall go down among our sacred traditions.

It is an old lament that the men who are found most worthy of enduring veneration often pass without recognition, or in the midst of opposition, through their own times. This may be true of great Reformers born for conflict, or charged with some unique ideal, and granted to the chief crises of the world. But for periods of tranquil progress, a happier adjustment may be observed between the laws of the single and those of the social mind. Side by side with the slow and steady rate of change which alone can be given to humanity *en masse*, moves the individual thinker,

at first with the rapid spring of youthful courage, at last with the quiet steps, the frequent rests, the placid retrospect of age. The sympathies which perhaps he outstrips in the beginning have time to come up with him before the end, and as the seasons chill upon his heart, close round him with warmer appreciation. If for a while he parts from his comrades and has to toil on alone, it is when he is strong to bear it; and when the feet grow weary and the spirit faints, he finds the world all reconciled and dies in peace. The almost patriarchal years of our friend just gone gave him this compensation for so long a time, that it needs an effort to remember that it was not always so. To the younger generation, who have grown familiar with the admitted honours of his name, who have been taught to regard it as a tower of strength to a purely conservative theology, it will scarcely be credible that he had once the repute of unsound and dangerous innovation: but my seniors and companions do not forget the mysterious alarms that invested a certain heresy called "Cappism," not so much actively inculcated as supposed to be esoterically held by our revered and too retiring tutor. Nor did any previous public teacher venture, so far as I know, to withdraw from the system of Christian evidences the argument from Hebrew prediction, and set the Messianic prophecies in the full and exclusive light of contemporary history. Such startling steps of thought could be taken only by one who had courage to contemplate organic changes in theologic science, and whose conscious fidelity could support him in a position almost solitary among his contemporaries and not generally shared even by his students. The example, from a Christian so humble and a scholar so profound, may well console those who, following him at a vast distance, repeat the same experience in far slighter wanderings from the beaten track.

In fact, so long as there are different rates of mental change for different parts of the same community, there must be *some* in every generation on whom the repute of heterodoxy falls. The grand conservative power in the world is the tenacity of habitual ideas in the great mass of busy men, who have to live upon the store with which they set out on their career. The grand provision for progressive thought is in the studies of men devoted to some special research, or able to follow its course under the conduct of its great masters. Between these two tendencies a certain conflict is inevitable in every age; and is in itself so little to be deprecated that it is the very condition of our escape from a fatal stagnation, and has no other evil in it than it artificially contracts from our infirmities and sins. The student who at all keeps up with the intellectual movement of his time, who is quickened with any living learning instead of being buried with the dead, is carried, by irresistible necessity, to new mental stations, and is compelled to revise his judgments,

and recompute his place. But let him not deem it a strange thing that no longer is the dear old world all with him where he stands; that others stay where they are more at home, till he has made their transit to him clear and safe, and the region round him genial and fruitful. There is an element of *faithfulness* in their reluctance which he must recognize and respect. And the burthen which it imposes on him is wholesome to bear: for there is scarcely a better discipline for the lonely thinker than the unwelcome plunge from the silent order of his contemplative world into the ferment of the agora,—than the encounter with the tangle of human feeling and opinion, and the necessity of tracing a way into the light by the circuitous tact of patient sympathy instead of the curt methods of a supercilious logic. This difficulty (I confidently speak for my friend and colleague as for myself) awakens in us no complaint and no despair. As teachers of those who are to guide the next generation, we are indeed bound not to lag behind the standard of our own,—nay, to keep as near as we can to the front ranks of advancing research in our respective fields: did we *not* make this our aim, we should have studied to little purpose the examples of such predecessors as a Wellbeloved and a Kenrick,—should be faithless to the most honourable traditions and distinctive opportunities of our religious body,—and drop out of our natural relation to the Church of the Future. But as our march is still in the same service and in simple allegiance to the same Divine Master,—as the heart of the Past beats strong within us both, and we break with no one guiding faith or reverence, we do not hesitate to claim the old companionship, to expect a generous trust, and to believe that, however scattered for awhile by diversities of track or speed, both the hasting and the lingering feet will be found in the evening, when all is over, resting on the same field.

The problem of this College has always been to reconcile the interests of free learning with the practical training for the Christian ministry. That these two ends should be incompatible, is a suspicion which its supporters have been too noble-minded to indulge. Sympathy with foremost scholarship, and administration of popular religion, they have steadfastly believed might go together and help each other. It is an honourable fact that this faith, combining conditions which in the eye of sceptic fear would appear mutually destructive, has been maintained, not by the will of some eccentric and enthusiastic Founder, imposing a personal fancy on the Institution, but under a form of government singularly open and popular. Where, in the whole range of ecclesiastical history, can we find a parallel case, —that a large body of men, with strong and definite convictions on divine things, have declined, by deliberate verdict, to take any security for the perpetuation of their own opinions, beyond the constant revision and testing of them by the best attainable

instruments of knowledge?—and have further declared it an essential qualification for Christian Preaching that the minister, far from simply echoing the doctrines of an earlier time and becoming the mere organ of his people's state of mind, should be able to speak from a higher position, and prepare the world around him for the next hour that is to strike? A principle so wisely bold cannot fail now and then to be put to a severe trial: and it may be admitted that precisely the present stage of theological knowledge is especially critical for it. That it will be found equal to the utmost strain which will be put upon it, I do not for a moment doubt; provided we are prepared, with suitable pliancy, to accept the altered conditions of our time. Now that a generation has visibly passed away, it may not be unseasonable to note and register the most essential changes in the aspect of our educational problem, and compute their bearing on the right classification and apportionment of studies.

The impulse given by the Reformation to clerical erudition is mainly due, I need hardly say, to the new position into which the Scriptures were then raised. At the earliest stage of the revolt from Rome, resistance was confined to the comparatively recent Dominican abuses, without disturbance to the authority of the Church, expressed in its older councils and the writings of the Fathers. It was so embarrassing a task, however, to defend the validity of an arbitrary chronological limit, that the line was inevitably pushed further and further back, till nothing was left behind it but the Sacred Writings and the Apostolic Age: and *there* at last Protestantism took its stand: there alone was the Word of God, to the test of which every question of belief and duty must be brought. The Scriptures thus succeeded to the place previously held by the Creeds and dogmatic Decrees of the Christian hierarchy; and were required to discharge the same function, and be ready with an answer to whatever doubts were brought to them. It was impossible to consult them with such an object, without instantly feeling how different they are from the short, sharp, systematic definitions in which the Church had pronounced her judgment and handed it down ready-made; how much harder it is to win a response from them; over how wide a field of history and law, of poetry and prophecy, of proverb and epistle, the divine truth is distributed,—and that, too, not with the mechanical order and precision of the Letter, but with the trackless freedom of the Spirit. A cold and critical age would have been thrown into despair by the difficulty of using such a collection as the Bible in substitute for the compendia and canons of the Church; but at a time when the Book of books had freshly opened the deepest fountains of men's hearts, it was invoked for every purpose, and the difficulties it brought were as nothing before the energy which it kindled. More than once it was some happy moment of contact with the unspoiled

phrase of Holy Writ, that had dissipated the darkest clouds of Luther's own mind: and he himself describes the sudden light of joy that flashed upon him, when in place of the "*pœnitentia*" of the Roman Church (reduced to an outward "*penance*" of expiation) the Greek μετάνοια carried its pure meaning to his heart, of an inward and spiritual change. The whole religion, which had become worn down to an arid dust by the grinding of the Latin routine, broke into freshness again and sprinkled its very soul upon the Reformers, when opening upon them through its native speech. An insatiable thirst carried them to the well-spring of the untranslated word, and gave a charm to the severest grammatical labours that promised to bring them a step nearer to their place of rest. The incredible difficulties through which Reuchlin struggled into a mastery of the Hebrew, and sent forth Melancthon to propagate the "new learning," by his personal instructions at Wittenberg and by the publication of Greek and Hebrew manuals, the rapidity with which an immense apparatus of Biblical studies was created, the marvellous approach to exactitude which the new philology attained, may well fill us with admiration, and reproach our more effeminate and less modest scholarship. The zeal for learning derived all its inspiration from a religious source,—the desire and need of conversing with the original oracles of God. The Reformers, having refused to bind themselves by the recognized decisions of the Church, had to begin again the organization of dogma and ritual; and for that end to make themselves and their clergy masters of the sacred materials out of which the structure must be raised. The education for the Christian ministry was thus suddenly expanded, from the narrow drill of a few half ecclesiastical, half Aristotelian manuals, to the dimensions of the whole Bible in its own languages. True it is, that when once the new symbolical books were produced and invested with authority, a partial return to the old intellectual apathy ensued: the work was considered to be done; the essence of Holy Writ to have been extracted; and the future was closed against the excitement of discovery. In the Lutheran Church, where the authority of the new Confessions was most stringently imposed, this paralysing reaction was powerfully felt. In those of the Genevan type, however rigid the inward organism of their vast logical system, there was less outward restraint upon a free development, and a wider exposure to varieties of national temperament: and accordingly they remained far truer to their original Scripturalism, and continued to produce a Biblical literature, and to maintain among the people the habit of reading the Bible, when the Saxon churches had in these respects become degenerate. Where the function of secondary Creeds was at the lowest, the continued need of the primitive Scripture was at the highest. Hence, what is true of the Calvinists in general as compared with the

Lutherans, holds of the English Presbyterians in particular as compared with other branches of the Swiss stock. The trials of conscience through which they passed in the latter half of the seventeenth century having brought them to peculiar sensitiveness on the subject of subscription, they fell back with all the more absolute repose on Scripture. They were not content with its use by a Church as a source of doctrines to be thence imposed, in second-hand epitomes, on the members one by one; but required that it should be left to stand alone, in separate and first-hand contact with each individual believer's mind, and be permitted to speak for itself. This was the freedom, not (if I may say so) a freedom *from* Scripture, but a freedom *to* Scripture, on which our forerunners so strenuously insisted. In its original idea it undoubtedly involved the most absolute and infallible authority for every part of the letter of the Bible; a belief which in 1648 had even embodied itself in a penal law, visiting with the punishment of death any one who should call in question the authenticity of any book of either the Old or the New Testament. This belief it was which became stereotyped in the phrases, "*the Sufficiency of Scripture*," and "*the Scriptures the rule of faith and practice*:" the former expressing only its negative side, excluding all that lay beyond the Scriptures: the latter expressing the positive side, admitting all that lay within them. Taken together, they turn the key upon you with the sharpest precision, and shut you up in the most rigorous logical incarceration. If you believe any moral or spiritual truth on extra-biblical grounds, you cannot use the first: if you hesitate about any proposition whatsoever in the Bible, you cannot use the second. The effect of the two is to present the Scriptures, the whole Scriptures, and nothing but the Scriptures, as the depositories of divine truth; and to concentrate the qualifications of the Christian ministry upon one point,—*the exposition of these oracles of Heaven.* Enable him to find their meaning and to express it clearly to others, and his work as an ambassador of God is done.

Such was the theory which occasioned the demand for a learned ministry, and gave their constitution and usages to the Nonconformist academies. The organization of studies which would shape itself around this determining idea it is not difficult to trace.

(1.) The first thing must be to effect the necessary insulation of the Scriptures, and detach them, by marks of exclusive divineness, from the mass of human literature: and this accordingly was the aim of all investigations into the Jewish and Christian Canon, with the external history of the several books.

(2.) Next, the line being drawn which excludes all human writings and encloses all divine, precaution must be taken against any interior adulteration of the latter, impairing their absolute

identity: the purity of their TEXT must be tried by every available criterion, and emendation, sytematised into an art, be applied to every remediable blemish; and hence the vast *Apparatus Criticus* which has been accumulated, and the mere description of which forms so considerable a part of the work of a Theological Professor.

(3.) Lastly, the books being at length as perfect as may be in our hands, it is time to read and understand them: resorting, for that purpose, not only to all available philological aids, but to the illustrative help of History and Antiquities, the reciprocal lights of comparable passages, and the whole scheme of EXEGETICAL resource. In accomplishing this final part of the work, the teacher's method is altogether at the mercy of the hypothesis respecting Scripture which he carries into it. Does he assume the whole to be alike the word of God? then he levels all its varieties as unessential, and, treating it as throughout the expression of *One* unerring Mind, takes it as homogeneous and absolutely self-consistent in every part; and, for elucidation of obscurities in fact or doctrine, overleaps the lines of time and authorship, and applies the same standard to the whole. Hence the Interpreter passes into the HARMONIST: who undertakes to weave apparently discrepant narratives into one continuous history, and to construct apparently successive beliefs into one system of absolute truth.

This then is the series of studies on which it has become traditional in our Academies to throw the stress of the Theologic work: Establishment of the Canon,—critical History and Emendation of the Text,—Interpretation of the Language,—Harmonizing of the Matter. A proficient in these, it was thought, had mastered his stewardship of the word; and as there was "sufficiency" in the "Scriptures," so was there in the Education which gave him possession of them. Whatever you might superadd to these was to be regarded as subsidiary; expedient perhaps for secular ornament and scholarly repute, but not indispensable to the furniture of the Christian divine. In concession, however, to these less imperative claims, the main acts of theological education were introduced by a philosophical Prologue, and followed by an historical Epilogue. *Before* entering the proper sphere of his Biblical pursuits, the student was invited to survey the truths of Natural Religion and the doctrines of the Heathen World. And *after* emerging from his sacred studies, he was conducted through the chief periods of Ecclesiastical History and controversy. Both these, however, were kept in a kind of subordination to the intermediate work which affected not only their extent, but their spirit: they were mere human wings of a Divine centre, and were oppressed and quenched by the light that towered above them; and were chiefly looked at, accordingly, as foils to set off the ideal glory they embraced.

The religions of Nature and the Heathen world were reviewed chiefly with intent to prove the "need of a Revelation;" and the History of the Church was read with the preconception of a model purity and unity in the apostolic age, from which it was one protracted decline into corruption. Where the præ-christian ages of the world are cited to prove how little man can find the truth, and the post-christian how little he can keep it, they are inevitably examined chiefly on their negative side, and it is vain to expect any genial historical appreciation. The whole tendency of this intellectual point of view is to draw into one absolute focus all the divineness of our human world; to concentrate attention upon it as the only glory; and to glance at the life on either side only to expose the depth of its darkness or the worthlessness of its light. We cannot wonder at the narrow and slighting estimate, long inherited from Puritanism, of all except Biblical studies; for to speak of the "*sufficiency* of Scripture," what is it but to pronounce all else *superfluous?*

Many concessions in detail have long been made to more comprehensive ideas, not only in our own Institution, but in others where they might be less expected. But they have entered incidentally under the plea and on the side of secular knowledge, without affecting the main program as originally conceived; which still probably holds its ground, on the tenure of unrevised habit, in many minds no longer possessed by its fundamental principle. A desire yet lingers to keep both philosophy and history at a distance and in a merely ancillary position,—to prevent their mixing themselves with proper theology,—to preserve the separate integrity of Biblical studies as having an organism of their own, and to make the interpretation of the sacred records the final act of the student's career. If the meaning of those writings, once ascertained, is really held to be decisive and without appeal on every matter of which they speak, nothing can be more natural than this desire. I recently heard it most consistently expressed from the pulpit of a neighbouring cathedral by one of the most eminent of our living divines, who laid down the following positions:* that our Lord, by reading out of the prophet Isaiah in the synagogue of Nazareth, demonstrated for us the infallible inspiration of the whole Old Testament: that the commission and powers he gave to his apostles assure us, directly or indirectly, of the infallibility of all the New: that we are bound to trust this testimony of his and all that it carries with it, let appearances be what they may: that if the naturalist, the astronomer, the geologist, the investigator of primæval history, are staggered by the picture of nature and the spread of nations in the book of Genesis, or by the reported miracles of Joshua and Jonah, they have nothing to do but un-

* The cathedral was Westminster Abbey; the divine, Rev. Dr. Wordsworth.

reservedly submit their human knowledge to the higher certainty of the Divine Word: that if our moral sense revolts from any sentiment or act sanctioned by a sacred writer, we must conform our conscience to his: that demoniacal possession is a divinely authenticated fact which no pretended law of nature is to be permitted to dispute: that we are to dismiss as optical illusions of our own minds every apparent discrepancy of reported fact or error of expectation: that Philosophy and Criticism have no office within Holy Writ except to remove its difficulties and establish its harmony, assuming all its propositions to be unconditionally true. In this view, certainly there can be nothing ulterior to the question, "What saith the Word?"

From this position, however, we have been gradually but irresistibly borne away. Within the last generation, Natural Science, Comparative Philology, Historical Criticism, have compelled a revision of many judgments previously unchallenged by the boldest divines. When the first part of Mr. Wellbeloved's Translation of the Bible was published, it was as yet too early to disturb the traditions of the origin of mankind from a single pair, of the universal Deluge, of the dispersion of races, and original unity of language. Geologists were adducing fossil evidence of the flood: and in our College class-rooms, where the teaching was never behind the highest standard of the day, proofs were still adduced of the soundness of the Mosaic chronology of the human race. Need I do more than name Mr. Kenrick's admirable "Essay on Primæval History," in order to furnish a landmark for the tides of opinion, and measure the amount of change? Nor is it more possible, within the limits of the Christian records, longer to take our stand on the absolutism of the letter. A recent pamphlet by a member of the Church of England,*—a pamphlet written in a spirit not less reverential than intelligent,—enumerates some of the chief results of modern criticism, in order to rouse attention to the new exigencies of theology, and saves me the necessity of any statement of my own. He reminds us that we must recognize an ascending progress of the Hebrew religion, traceable throughout its records, taking a new and sublimer start from the Advent of Christ, visibly proceeding still through the Apostolic age, and probably not to be arrested to the end of time: that the Evangelical narratives cannot be received as infallible records of fact or of discourse, in the face of the lesser discrepancies among the Synoptical Gospels and the greater between them and the remaining Gospel: that the "Apostolic Epistles are not free from errors" of expectation, of interpretation, and of reasoning: and, above all, that among the New-Testament writers are found not simply different per-

* Free Theological Inquiry the Duty of the Laity. By a Lay Member of the Church of England. Williams and Norgate. London. 1858.

sonal characteristics in their expression of the same faith, but types of doctrine materially different respecting the person and work of Christ, and the scope and conditions of his religion. These things, stated by a lay member of one of the most stationary of Christian churches, may perhaps receive the attention they require, as by no means the speculations of a few extreme theologians, but the well-established results of the most sober and conservative criticism that retains any pretension to *be* criticism at all. As if to prepare for this new era, we have long accustomed ourselves to an alteration in our traditional phraseology; speaking of Scripture not as "*the rule* of faith and practice," but as "*containing* a record of divine Revelation,"—not necessarily therefore to the exclusion of other things.

Consider then what is involved in this change. If divine and human elements lie mixed in Scripture, mere textual interpretation cannot ensure to us the pure object of our quest, and be the final act of our work: there is yet an ulterior discrimination to be effected before the Sacred Truth stands clear. It is not enough to reach the meaning of the words: the critique, if it is to yield any guiding result, must advance into the thought itself, and draw forth the imperishable essence from the transitory accidents. The end towards which all Christian theology presses forward is still the same, the Person of Jesus Christ, as the organ of Divine manifestation in our Humanity: but which is the true view of his Person?—that of Matthew? that of Paul? or that of John? Are we to find the essence of his religion in the humanities of the parables and the ethical depth of the Sermon on the Mount, or in the mystic spirituality of the discourses in the fourth Gospel? These, with a host of similar questions, remain over for reply, after the Interpreter has removed the last obscurity and given us all that the writers meant. We need him as much as ever: we can dispense with no part of the system of Biblical studies which closed with him: but when he has played his part, the curtain must not yet drop; for he leaves us in the very crisis of suspense, with the knot of the whole matter still unresolved. The Scriptures which he has unfolded to us *contain* indeed what is authoritatively above us, and is given for the homage of natures better than our best; but also what we have left behind us, and cannot without deterioration mistake for the permanently holy and divine. They open in the future a heavenly promise everlastingly true to the human mind and heart; but they mingle with it anticipations which have already missed their realization. To exhibit this mixture and then *leave* the matter there,—still more to oscillate evasively between the old high ground of scriptural finality and the liberal concessions which utterly undermine it, is to make express provision for doubt and uncertainty, by stopping short of the clearness of knowledge and the firmness of faith. Something more is needed,

if we are not to trifle with the problem of problems, and make no attempt to relieve the divine and indestructible truth from its human and perishable associations. A critique must be found for the Matter of Scripture, in addition to the interpretation of its Words.

Is this then a thing impossible or presumptuous? It has not proved so in the case of the Mosaic Cosmogony, which has yielded to the advance of the Natural Sciences, leaving with us its sublime Theism unharmed: or in the case of the Israelite atrocities, which our Moral Sense has learned to charge on the passions of an unreclaimed humanity instead of the inspiration of approving Heaven: or in the case of the doctrine of the Logos, to which, though it tinctures the whole meaning of our deepest gospel and penetrates the very words of Christ, we are able to assign a human growth by clear and intelligible steps. In these palpable and admitted examples, what are the instruments of our critique, which we apply as criteria to the very substance of the sacred writings? They are—the Sciences of Nature, the verdicts of Conscience, the indications of History: and if we press our question further, and ask, not about the *origin*, but about the *inherent truth* of the doctrine of the Logos, we have to seek all the grounds of the discussion in the speculative Metaphysics of religion. In other words, each kind of matter laid before us in Scripture comes into the court of the faculty proper for its appreciation, and affects us differently according as it is in harmony or discord with the essential conditions of intellectual, moral, and spiritual response. But these essential conditions are defined in two ways: by *historical* investigation, so far as they are inductively gathered from the phenomena and analogies of human experience: by *philosophical* research, so far as their traces lie in the inner constitution and limits of human nature. It is determined, therefore, by the very nature of things, which no arbitrary choice can alter, that historical and philosophical knowledge has a regulative function with respect to the theology of the letter; and that the conception of an *unconditional* Biblical theology cannot be realized. And no organization of studies can be so truly conservative as one which, attempting no strain upon facts as they arise, shapes itself in sympathy with the real and natural springs of faith and self-devotion.

If with the Divine element of Scripture we are brought, in the present day, more freely to recognize the human; on the other hand, from the human world beyond the range of Scripture we are less eager to exclude the Divine. The fatal assumption that Heathendom and the first Christendom were opposed to one another as unguided Reason and unmixed Revelation, as bare Nature and exclusive Grace,—precluded formerly more than a timid and reluctant sympathy with the true and noble elements of Pagan life. I well remember (perhaps it is only a

personal confession which I make) the half-guilty feeling with which, in young and fervent days, I found myself surprised into passionate admiration by the story of Socrates, and taken captive by words that seemed to me of unspeakable religious depth in Plato, or even in Cicero and Seneca. I accused myself of an unchristian perversity,—a want of evangelical simplicity and humbleness,—because often Greek and Roman history stirred the tides within me more than the image of Galilean apostles,—because the struggle for Hellenic freedom appeared more sacred than the conquest of idolatrous Canaan, and Leonidas nobler than Gideon,—because, read what I might in favour of a general resurrection in the body, the Phædon tempted me to hope rather for the immortality of the soul. Every beauty and good that fastened wonder or reverence on a world reputed alien from God, was felt to detract from the glories of his chosen sphere, and to weaken that contrast between a profane and a sacred realm on which everything was staked. The time is surely come when these artificial anxieties may disappear. It would be a strange gospel,—we now acknowledge,—that should find its interest and support in disparaging any gleams of truth and goodness in the life of men; and a poor sign of the Holiest Spirit, that it should have no sympathy for what is kindred to itself and springs from the very depths within us where it loves to dwell. The difference between the Christian and the Heathen we can no longer imagine to be, that the one *has*, and the other has not, the Divine guide; but rather that the one *knows* Him, while the other does not,—a difference which does not hinder the *unconscious* grace from being often intenser and higher than the *conscious*. And so, the bondage is taken from our hearts: with the more thoughtful of the early Fathers of the church, we can give a joyful recognition to God's ever-living Spirit in our humanity wherever it ripens any fruit; even should it look as fair in Attica or Latium as in Antioch or Alexandria. His preparing Presence with *both* the great races of the ancient spiritual world,—the Hellenic and the Hebrew,—with philosophers as with prophets,—is so far from diminishing that it rather doubles the magnitude of Christ's function: making him truly "the desire of *all* nations:" the supernatural focus towards which the separated paths of rays converged and in which they blended: his Personality embodying the whole essence of their truth and good: his self-sacrificing Death dropping whatever was instrumental and temporary: and his Risen Life lifting a perfected humanity into an object of eternal aspiration.

The general result of the whole survey is this: that while, on the one hand, Historical Criticism has to take the place of mechanical Harmonizing, and along with Moral and Philosophical principles of appreciation to enter the interior of Scripture; on the other, a consecration passes out upon knowledge once "pro-

fane," and draws all history into the drama of Divine Revelation. There is no tendency whatever in the present stage of theology to abate anything of the old thoroughness of Biblical studies; but there is an imperative need to take them up as part of a wider system and bring them into more genial relations with the whole circle of mental culture, and specially with the other modes by which human thought seeks an apprehension of the Divine.

What now is to be the fruit of all our pains and toil? Be they ever so successful, we look for only a very simple, yet surely not a trivial result. When all is done, we hope to surrender back the student's mind to the pure and childlike trusts, the self-forgetting love, the joyful zeal, which, in proportion as his call is real, dedicated him to this service at first. But then, it is one thing to have these elementary pieties as native impulses, untouched by thought, untempted by sophistic contradiction, and with no tenure but momentary occupation. It is quite another, to hold them by firm anchorage on their conscious grounds; to know all their bearings; to have put the strain on all that is least strong in them, and believe them still; to be ready, not only for their unhesitating utterance, but for their deliberate and comprehensive defence; and to place at the disposal of their power, not a raw undisciplined nature, but a mind rich in the long heritage of human thought, and deep in experience of its own. I do not deny the greatness of even blind affection turned on truly heavenly things, or the contagion of its mighty fervour; but though it may be better to have blind leaders of the blind than that all should go astray, yet it is the glory of Christian guidance that it demands open-eyed vision, and seeks God in the day-light of reality, not within the closed lids of ignorance or of ecstasy. I am aware it is sometimes said, that too much learning dries up the inner springs of spiritual life, or drains them off into some mere intellectual receptacle: and it is an old way of explaining the want of glow in an educated preacher, to suppose that his books have damped out his native fire. If any one will shew me a single instance in which an original enthusiasm has been quenched by culture, and one who might have been the prophet has turned into the pedant, I will listen to the plea. The fervours of an early piety I have seen die down for want of the ventilating winds of labour and of prayer; or lie as spent ashes on the hearth of a nature grown selfish; or thickened into the smoke of party-passion and fanatic fear: but never dimmed, like mere watch-fires of the night, by any rising dawn or spreading horizon of the mind. Preaching, where it is not a routine or a pretence (perhaps likewise where it *is*), is eminently an expression of the *whole* man: Religion spares no part of him, any more than God omits himself from here or there in the universe of life: the larger there-

fore his faculties and the wider his range of insight and sympathy, the more numerous are the keys on which the Divine touch may strike, and the fuller the chords through which the Word will peal. And if, under the practical difficulties of our problem, *we* cannot expect, any more than other bodies of Christians, to escape our proportion of temperaments too quiet for their work, still, even at the worst we can suppose, who can deny that, among dry men also, the educated is more tolerable than the dunce? He will at least teach you something, though he may not stir you; and by preserving the alliance of the religion of Christ with cultivated sense and pure taste and moral worth, save it from every taint of degradation.

Whilst it is our united and earnest desire to send forth effective preachers, as well as faithful representatives, of Christ's holy gospel, and while we shrink from none of the fair responsibilities of our trust, we would deprecate a weak dependence on the resources of *any* mere teaching or discipline in this respect. The limit is soon reached beyond which training for the pulpit cannot go. The function of such training is simply critical, not dynamic: it can restrain, correct, and purify; it cannot empower and inspire. It may free the inner feeling from some of the stiffness of its outward instrument, and help it to a more pliant medium of expression; but that inward spring itself, on which all but the whole depends, is beyond *our* world, and remains with the grace of God and the fidelity of the private conscience. The discipline of life, which makes the student *forget* himself, will do more than all our instructions that oblige him to *study* himself. When the growth of faith and affection within is strong enough to burst and fling away the husk of selfish fear, it is surprising how the powers of expression expand, and hang out unexpected leaves and blossoms to the light. Only the warmth of a living experience is adequate to this: contact with sorrowful realities; occasions of genial sympathy and strenuous duty; a transition from the communion of silent ideas to the many-toned voices of humanity. So far as this discipline is opened by labours in the Mission-house and the School, our students have ever shewn themselves spontaneously eager to embrace it. So long as they continue to do their part in keeping the just balance between the critical exercises of the lecture-room and the practical activities of religious faith and love, we shall not despair of realizing the hopes of our churches; and for ourselves, of leaving behind the monument most worthy of a Christian ambition,—a generation of successors greater in every spiritual dimension than ourselves.

THE TWO SYMBOLISMS: OR, THE PROTESTANT AND CATHOLIC USE OF RITES AND CEREMONIES:

A SERMON PREACHED AUG. 29, 1858, IN THE CHURCH OF THE ORATOIRE, PARIS, BY ATHANASE COQUEREL.

We have the pleasure of presenting to our readers in an English translation the following admirable and interesting sermon lately preached by Mons. Coquerel the elder in the Church of the Oratoire at Paris.

We commend to the reader's especial notice the brief Preface, as explanatory of the great interest which the sermon has excited in Paris and in France more generally. This is further explained in the following extract of a letter to the translator of the discourse, from the preacher, whose English style might almost serve as a model for many an Englishman; so simple is it, and so correct:

"I shall be very happy to see my last sermon in an English dress, and I beg you will oblige me in letting the Rev. R. B. Aspland know. I would advise the insertion of the short Preface, which has produced some sensation in France, where numbers go to Mass without even knowing what Mass is, and has been introduced in the *Independance Belge*, the French foreign paper that has obtained the largest circulation. The fact is, that this simple sermon of mine has caused, to my utter surprise, such a mouvement in Paris that I was literally obliged to write and print it. Catholicism is so little known, that when you place it precisely under the eye of the Christian, he is just as astonished as the traveller meeting a snake, and recoils in a like manner.

"I hope I shall be favoured with a copy of the translation."

Preface.

The publication of this discourse has been requested, and I have thought it a duty to defer to the wish. Having been spoken extemporaneously in the church, it has had to be written since; but I undertake to say that, beyond a few shades of expression, no change has been made in it, and I am sure my auditors will recognize it in the reading.

It is only too easy to understand the demand for its publication, which comes from various quarters. At no period, not even in the darkest times of religious discord, has the Reformed Church been attacked with a violence more determined, more morbid or more irritating. To be sadly convinced of this, we have only to run over the journals or reviews of the day at hazard; we have but to be present occasionally at the sermons of Lent, Advent or a Mission. Pure Ultramontanism, having, as it hopes, triumphed over Jansenism and Gallicanism, is seeking other adversaries and dealing its blows more widely. The Reformed Church is now the object of attack. We must accept the challenge, make our reply, and call upon the public conscience to be umpire. Perhaps the best form of defence will be that of exact and true parallels between the teachings of the two communions; the more so, because our own is still much misunderstood by the

multitude. The degree of prejudice and error pervading many minds in this country in reference to us, passes all belief; it seems as though our page had either been omitted in the history of France, or had ceased to be read. We are not known, and are consequently misunderstood; we are calumniated, sometimes without design. It is useful, beyond a doubt, to extort impartiality from these ill-informed judges and prejudiced opponents, by calling upon them to compare our principles with the dogmas of the Romish Church.

I will only add (and the proof will be found herewith) that this polemical discussion does not infringe upon my charity. After forty years of preaching and working, I feel myself more and more convinced of the paramount value of sincerity before God. I did not hesitate to repeat lately, from the pulpit of the Oratoire, the following words: "He who believes in the Mass fulfils a duty in attending it, and commits a sin when he neglects it; but he who does not believe in it, what right has he there?" More ardently than ever do we, Protestant ministers, pray God to inspire all our fellow-citizens with courage to avow their opinions; and we hold it certain that the moral progress of the nation is involved therein.

A. C.

JEREMIAH ii. 11:

"Hath a nation changed their gods, which are yet no gods?"

MY BRETHREN,—True religion must be conformable to the nature of God and to that of man, since it forms their bond of union. All Christian communions agree upon this as a fundamental principle.

If religion borrow (so to speak) too much glory from that of the Divine Being, if she attempt to rise to the height of his greatness, if she become so absorbed in her contemplations as to dazzle instead of enlightening us, in such a case, that God who is *our Father* becomes the *unknown God** whose altar the apostle found; his worship leads us to the presence of *that light inaccessible*, of which the same apostle has spoken, where dwells *the God whom no man hath seen nor can see*;† and there it leaves us.

If, on the contrary, religion inclines, as it were, too much to our side, and makes the infinite too like the finite; if, under pretext of putting herself within our reach, she places the Deity too nearly on our level; if she reduces him to the proportions of humanity on a larger scale, as ancient paganism did, this would be a sort of modern paganism; our worship would become derogatory to his glory, and the littlenesses of superstition would soon detract so far from our notion of Deity as to dissipate its power and its charm.

* Acts xvii. 23. † 1 Tim. vi. 16.

Starting from these principles, the truth of which is attested by all ages and by the popularity or the fall of so many altars, we ask: What is the true use of Symbolism; meaning by symbolism all the external, material, visible part of religion, its forms, solemnities, observances and various signs, from the custom of standing while mentally following the prayers in divine service, to the elements of the Lord's Supper, bread and wine, those consecrated emblems of the body and blood of Jesus Christ? Whence comes it, that this array of customs, of rites and sacraments, holds so large a place in religious worship; whence is it, that faith has never been able to do without them? *God is a Spirit; and they that worship him, must worship him in spirit and in truth;** in these absolute terms the positive rule for the world's worship is given by our Lord himself, who is speaking not to an academy of sages, or a council of pontiffs or doctors, but to a poor lowly woman, illiterate and uninformed. God is a Spirit, and we are spirits; our bodies are not ourselves; ourselves are our souls; and if the Divine nature and our own are both spiritual, what is the use of symbols, and why do we not offer a purely spiritual worship?

Symbols are necessary for this simple reason: that the human soul is clothed in a body, or arrangement of organs which serve to express its loftiest as well as its most commonplace feelings; whence, if worship had nothing external, visible and material about it, but were solely mental, the adoration of the spirit alone, worship would want two of its most essential conditions: it would cease to be either a profession of faith or a bond of brotherhood. It is by the symbols of worship that we declare (not, indeed, to God, but before our fellow-men) to what religion our souls belong, and make known those religious sentiments which we are not justified in concealing or suppressing; for secrecy, in matters of belief and worship, is an offence against God, an act of treason against truth, an illicit compact with error, a shameful want of sincerity; yet who would know our religious opinions if they were manifested in no outward act? You only shew and prove that you are Protestants by partaking the Protestant Eucharist. And how should worship be a bond of union if it were only spiritual, if each shut up all his fervour within himself, if no act of piety practised in common served to remind us that we are a community of brethren, children of the Heavenly Father and disciples of the same Saviour?

The necessity of religious forms is therefore evident; Christianity cannot do without them or separate itself from them; it would be lost (if that were possible) while striving thus to purify and improve itself; it would vanish in individual abstraction of thought. Our divine Master himself recognized this

* John iv. 24.

important use of symbolism. Though the gospel says nothing about a ritual, though we find not a line in it on the order to be observed in religious meetings, on the propriety of morning and evening prayer, on the forms to be observed on such religious occasions of life as birth, marriage, churching, burial, or the administration of oaths, — yet the gospel tells us that Jesus Christ instituted the two Church sacraments of Baptism and the Supper, the one by command, the other by command and example at once.

In this unquestionable need of symbols we clearly see the occasion of danger to religion, and a continual risk of fatal usurpation. The inevitable and intimate union of the spiritual element with the material, the lively impressions produced by sacred pomp, the salutary results derived to faith and piety from social prayer, from rites and sacraments, bring with them the great danger of leading men to believe that these forms have some efficacy, some value, some sanctity, independent of the dispositions of the disciple who shares them; and of all the illusions of conscience there is none that contributes more powerfully to maintain the empire of error, and to hinder *a nation from changing its gods, even when they are not gods.*

It is in this particular point of view that I purpose now to study the question of Symbolism. Every man who is animated with sincere convictions, is astonished at the pertinacious reign of what he regards as false. The philosopher is astonished that there should be believers; the believer, that there should be sceptics: the Catholic, accustomed to submission before ecclesiastical authority and to the splendours of his mode of worship, is astonished at the triumphs of Protestantism; the Protestant, attached to liberty and to the simplicity of our church and communion, is astonished at the continued support of the Church of Rome. The persistance of nations in a misapprehension of the gospel, is evidently a very complex problem and referable to many causes; as, ignorance in general and ignorance of the holy Scriptures in particular; the hereditary influence of past example; the discredit and disadvantages attaching to a change of religion, the idea of which often serves as a mask for indifference; the want of moral courage, and the vulgar resource of dissipating thought by excessive worldliness. But error in religion has no more sure and easy aid than symbolism, when once men have come to ascribe an immediate efficacy to its signs and observances. It will be useful to examine it under this aspect; and the inquiry will lead us to this happy conclusion, that by knowing how to respect the outward devotional observances which our brethren consider holy, we shall have won the twofold right of claiming due respect for our own faith and of rejoicing before God in its deeply spiritual nature.

The text is one of those touches of genius which abound in

the writings of the Jewish prophets, and may be applied, naturally and in all its force, to depict the dangers of religious symbolism. The discourse from which it is taken, one of the earliest in the ministrations of Jeremiah, belongs to the eighteenth year of the reign of Josiah. The reformation attempted by this pious monarch had not completely destroyed idolatry; the temple was indeed purified, the images and altars of false gods no longer profaned its precincts; the ceremonies of the Mosaic ritual were resuming their order and their splendour; but the Jews, still faithless, kept in their own houses the idols which they no longer met with in the sanctuary. To the reproaches of the divine emissaries they replied by pluming themselves on imitating their forefathers, on having their gods more within reach, more near to them, and thus offering a less troublesome mode of worship and more convenient homage; they replied also, by the difficulty they felt in modifying their religious customs. But this was a sacrilegious desertion of the Law of Moses, which admitted no compact with the facilities of paganism; and the prophet, skilful in wielding every weapon against those impious errors, against that desertion of the revealed faith of Israel, makes the Jews ashamed of their infidelity to the true God, by citing the faithfulness of foreign races to their vain gods, and throws in the face of those who deserted the true faith this cutting irony: *What nation changes its gods, even when they are no gods?*

Thus the sacred poet brings out the strength of persistence in error; he recognizes the power of the human mind to adhere, with a sort of perseverance which seems praiseworthy, to gods which are no gods. The human mind is always the same; and, in the bosom of the Christian religion, the alleged efficacy of symbolism is what chiefly favours the maintenance of opinions received without examination.

1. It is important to define the question precisely; and the surest way to succeed in doing this will be, to multiply examples. Figure to yourselves a worshiper praying before a favoured altar, decorated with insignia peculiar to it and made holy by special consecration. Kneeling on its steps, does the worshiper offer to God a prayer of any greater efficacy than if it were offered elsewhere; supposing equal piety, trust and faith in both cases? Follow those believers who are setting off to some place of pilgrimage; when arrived there, has their act of worship an increased value, independent of the dispositions of the offerers? Does an instrument of devotion, a cross or crucifix, a chaplet or rosary, make the prayers of Christians better, because it has been blessed, and is carried on the person or held in the hand? I do not pretend to deny (God forbid it!) that in these circumstances, under these conditions, upon the steps of that altar, at the end of that pilgrimage, and even while

counting his prayers or praises with the help of beads slipped along by his fingers, a man may be faithful and fervent. I declare my full conviction,—so deeply persuaded am I of the approval bestowed by God on all sincere worship,—that He accepts this kind of homage when He reads its sincerity in the heart. But that is not our question. We are concerned to know whether those outward circumstances of worship, such as the approach to an altar, or those material resources of piety, such as holding a crucifix, have of themselves any efficacy or value, and of themselves confer a higher degree of holiness on the service of God. And if this be the question, I am forced to say, that these things materialize and, in some sort, localize religion. The gospel confirms, by the voice of its first martyr, what Solomon, even in his temple, had already taught the Hebrews, that *the Most High dwelleth not in temples made with hands;** *where then shall we place the dwelling of the Lord?* and how then can spiritual graces be attached to the stones or ornaments of an altar? God is every where present, and every where alike; the gospel assures us that *He is never far from any one of us;*† and he caused it to be said to Israel, *Am I a God at hand only, and not also a God afar off?*‡ how then shall we go in search of him at the end of a pilgrimage, as if he were there more than elsewhere? And as for those thousand implements of devotion, which too often bring back the traffickers into the precincts from which the Lord drove them out; whatever be their antiquity, their form, their artistic beauty or costliness, how can we imagine that a benediction (the most spiritual thing that reason and faith can conceive) infuses itself into matter and remains attached to a piece of wood, marble or metal? Here let us lay down, from the first, the alternative which you, my brethren, should again and again find and take hold of at each step of this discussion:—either the religious efficacy comes from the heart of the faithful, and all these artifices of symbolism stand for nothing; or else a part of it proceeds from those favoured altars, those distant sanctuaries and those devotional jewels. But we cannot imagine how religion can be thus half-materialized. If then it is alleged that this material side of worship, though useless to the faithful, is the means or channel which God employs for the transmission of his grace, the difficulty, far from disappearing, is increased and involved in new obscurity. What! does God need those paltry works of our hands, to send his grace into our souls? No; such doctrines are inconceivable; faith and reason jointly protest against them; they are unauthorized by the gospel; they are condemned by its spirit. But what is only too easy for us to conceive is this:

* 1 Kings viii. 27; 2 Chron. vi. 18; Acts vii. 48.
† Acts xvii. 27. ‡ Jer. xxiii. 23.

that if religion be materialized to this extent in the mind of a nation, if these religious externals be proposed to them as invested with intrinsic holiness, the chance is very great that they will confound the form with the substance, the letter with the spirit, the appearance with the reality; that they will be content to touch and see and hear; that their heart will become alienated from their religion, and they will not change their gods even if they doubt whether they be gods.

2. Similar reflections may be made and similar restrictions laid down, on the subject of religious buildings, as churches and chapels. Have the stones of these walls, my brethren, have the arches over our heads and the pavement which your feet have trodden this day as you came to take your places here,—have they received some mysterious and vague stamp of holiness, which is reflected into our hearts? Here again we must recall the words, so true and simple, of Solomon and of Stephen. According to our faith, that which constitutes the holiness of our houses of prayer is, the prayers uttered in them; it is, the confession of our sins, made at the opening of our sacred offices, not to men, but to God, who alone searches the heart; it is, his revealed word, which we come here to meditate; it is, the memory of the Saviour's death, which we here celebrate at his table. In itself, this building has no sacredness; we do not find holiness here, but bring it hither. Does it follow, that we should without concern see our churches used, I will not say for worldly or profane purposes, but for such as are simply civil? No, indeed; and we lately proved the contrary when, in our days of revolution, it was for a moment wished to open them for political meetings; there was something in the proposed mixture that deeply bruised the delicate feeling of piety, while yet our faith attached no mystical stamp of holiness to the materials of the structure. Does it follow that our faith is averse to majestic church architecture, and that its strictness forbids us to admire the bold arches of a vast cathedral and the loftiness of those columns and spires, the lines of which prayer seems to follow as it rises towards heaven; or to plunge our thoughtful gaze into the depth of those long dim arcades in which the noise of the world seems to die away? No, truly; but all this is architecture, not piety; those pious impressions come from the hearts of the believers, not from the walls; the most majestic church awakens them in the heart, but does not shed them upon it; there is inward reflection, but no magical effect. And where the contrary system prevails, where a ceremony, splendid as it may be, is supposed to take effect upon the walls and impress a sort of consecration upon their shapes, we must believe that the worshipers, satisfied with the holiness which they find within the precincts of a church, neglect thenceforth to bring thither their own personal holiness.

3. The question remains unchanged when transferred from churches to burial-places. People always talk of resting in holy ground; and by this they understand that the fragment of this globe's soil occupied by a grave gains a more religious character than the surrounding soil. But what permanency is there in death; and what becomes of this sanctity when the tomb itself, which has made it discernible, shall have disappeared; for, do not the tombs disappear, each in its turn, with the course of time? Is not the *whole earth the Lord's; the earth and all that it contains;** and is it not therefore equally sacred throughout? If then a rite, whatever it be, cannot give to the site of a sepulchre any special consecration and make it different from the adjoining and surrounding soil, shall we say it is the mortal remains that are holy and spread consecration around, communicating it to the shroud, the coffin, the grave and the tomb? This is to materialize the future life and assimilate it to the bodily life of the present world; this is to forget that the dust is but dust and returns to dust, that the human soul is the real human being, that its individuality remains, and immortality is but the uninterrupted continuation of the present existence; that there is no separation between the two; that *all are living before God,*† and that Jesus Christ, the day of his death, said to a dying man: *This day shalt thou be with me in paradise.*‡ Will it be thought that, by virtue of these doctrines, and because we impress no more special sanctity upon the stones of our funeral monuments than on those of our religious buildings—because we admit no difference between the ground that covers our dead and that next adjoining them,—will it be thought that the tombs of our relatives, our children, our friends, are not holy in our eyes? Most certainly they are holy; not in a factitious and superstitious manner, as though the objects of our regret were there; but they are holy, because when we lowered the coffin and heard with shuddering the dull sound of the first soil thrown upon it, we heard with faith and composure the voice which said: *The dust returns to dust; the spirit re-ascends to God who gave it;*§ they are holy, through the tender recollections stamped upon their cold stones, and the tears of resignation with which they have been moistened; they are holy, because, in the midst of our mourning, these funeral abodes serve but to point the direction in which we should lift our view towards the eternal abodes, those most blessed places which Jesus has prepared,‖ and where those whom we have so loved await us with him. Such is the true evangelical consecration of our tombs; there is in it nothing earthly or material; no more than in immortality itself.

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* Ps. xxiv. 1. † Luke xx. 38. ‡ Luke xxiii. 43.
§ Eccl. xii. 7. ‖ John xiv. 2.

4. Let us go on to consider the question of symbolism under its most serious aspect, that of the sacraments; and let us confine the discussion to the two sacraments acknowledged by all Christian communions, the only two that are proved by the gospel history to have been instituted, the only two given to the Church by its supreme Head,—Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

According to our faith, according to the instructions of the sacred books, in which we read that *the baptism which saves us is the answer of a good conscience before God,** and in the spirit of the examples afforded by the first ages of Christianity, the sanctity of baptism now consists in the firm and free sincerity of the parents who, being themselves Christians, declare that their child shall be a good Christian like themselves, and in the face of the church consecrate that child in anticipation, to God and to Christ, by this solemn engagement. This sanctity arises also from the thought that the Lord, so to speak, enrols this promise in his book of life, hears the prayers by which it is accompanied, will one day demand an account of the manner in which it shall have been fulfilled, and now grants the help of his grace for its faithful accomplishment;—that Lord who in his perfect goodness said: *Suffer the little children to come unto me; the kingdom of heaven belongs to those who are like them.*† But we do not believe that the drops of water which touch our child's forehead have a supernatural and peculiar virtue which purifies him and renders him worthy of the joys and glories of heaven. According to a different faith, those drops of water, the oil, the salt and the officiating priest's saliva (all which must be used‡) have such an efficacy that, without this baptism, the child, dying before he has received it, is lost, for ever lost, deprived of the glory of God and cast into hell. Here is seen the exaggeration of symbolism in all its force, the system which maintains the efficacy of the sacrament in itself and by itself; the material and outward fact, regarded in its literal crudity, is declared to be of saving power, is demanded and becomes indispensable, to such a degree that, to escape if possible the everlastingly fatal consequences either of negligence in the parents (the infant having nothing to do with it) or of a too sudden termination of life (though this be the pure act of God), the first person present, man or woman, may and ought to baptize the new-born infant when in danger of death. Whether asked for by the parents or not, this sacrament concerns them only indirectly; directly it is the child, and the child only, that is contemplated by the cere-

* 1 Peter iii. 21. † Matt. xix. 14; Mark x. 14; Luke xviii. 16.

‡ In the administration of baptism, according to the Catholic form, the priest puts consecrated salt into the child's mouth; he takes some of his own saliva and puts it with his finger into the child's ears and mouth; he anoints it with oil on the breast, shoulders and forehead, and pours water three times on its head in the form of a cross. (See *Le Catéchisme de Persévérence*, de l'Abbé Gaume, Vol. IV. pp. 203–211.

mony and receives the influence. Souls are of no account here; whether those of the parents to whom the sacrament is not administered, or that of the child who does not know whether the sacrament is administered to him or not; matter alone bears sway, is alone present, alone recognized. It is impossible, therefore, to deny that the sanctity of the sacrament attaches to the outward sign, without which the sacrament does not exist. Do not think that I have exaggerated the supposed consequences of want of baptism, in order the more easily to exaggerate its necessity. It is a mistake to imagine that infants dying unbaptized, are placed in a sort of mitigated hell, where less severe sufferings await them than are prepared for the reprobate. The pure doctrine of the Church rejects this mitigation, teaching that they are deprived "both of natural blessedness and heavenly blessedness, constantly banished from God, and kept for ever in the infernal prison under the power of the devil."* From this reprobation and the effects of this terrible sentence, the child, unconscious as yet both of the danger it runs and of the means of escape, does escape if the material, external visible act which confers the sacrament be performed on its behalf; and thus the sacrament is endowed with an efficacy with which all that we call faith, piety and prayer, has nothing to do. Is this such baptism as St. Peter understood when he likened it to the testimony of a good conscience, or such as Jesus Christ himself demanded when he declared it inseparable from faith? *He that believeth and is baptized*, he said, *shall be saved.*† My brethren, it must be acknowledged that this system transports us into a very different region from that of pure Christian spirituality, *that kingdom of God which cometh not with outward pomp;*‡ and to grant to symbolism the power of saving or destroying to such a degree as this,—to attach heaven or hell to the observance or omission of a rite,—to attribute to a mere sign an immortal power of salvation or condemnation,—is rendering religion either too difficult to believe or too easy to practise, and inducing a nation never to change its gods even if they are no gods.

5. It might seem that nothing stronger could be said, and that the extreme limit of the abuse of symbolism had been reached. But no; this theory, as applied to the Lord's Supper, is still more strange and shocking. Let us not lose sight of the real question, which still is, whether the participation of the sacrament is any spiritual, religious or heavenly advantage, independently of the dispositions of the heart in the communicant. Here, my brethren, I feel eager to substitute for assertions of my own, which you might accept, such authorities as the most adroit or the least docile of our opponents cannot for a moment

* Cardinal Bellarmin, as quoted with approval by Bossuet, who adds that this doctrine is the true faith. (Works, Vol. XI. p. 196, Ep. cci.)

† Mark xvi. 16. ‡ Luke xvii. 20.

think of rejecting. The Council of Trent, the last universal assembly of the Romish communion, whose infallibility is admitted as indisputable by every priest and every worshiper from one end of the Catholic world to the other, and whose decrees are the most recent expression of the supreme authority of the Church, decided the question in these terms: "The sacraments confer grace by the mere fact of those who receive them putting no obstacle in the way, * * * and by the virtue which they contain."* And do not think that this rule, which somewhat softened the doctrines of the middle ages, was inspired by the exigencies of the moment and has been given up in our days; the most eminent doctor among our contemporaries, whose voice is best accredited, teaches, under cover of the Roman purple (I cite the very words of his work), that "faith is not necessary on the part of the receiver, for the validity of the sacraments" *(la foi n'est pas nécessaire pour la validité des sacrements qu'on reçoit*†). You see that the Council of a former age and the Cardinal of our own agree in holding themselves entrenched behind the negative. In order that the sacrament may be real and salutary, they only demand a negative position on the part of the communicant before God. Here is no need of self-conquest and self-correction, of prayer and thanksgiving, of belief and love; if these dispositions accompany the act of communion, it will no doubt be so much the better, and its efficacy may be increased; but if these dispositions be wanting, its efficacy is not destroyed nor lost; he must communicate nevertheless and meanwhile, since faith is not necessary in order to receive the body and blood of the Lord, the Lord himself "in flesh, in spirit and in his divinity;"‡ it is enough to put no obstacle in the way, but remain neutral and expectant; the sacrament preserves its value and produces its effect; in utter unconsciousness divine grace is found; it benefits the heart in any case; without love to God, it leads towards God; without belief in Christ, it conducts towards Christ. Strange, indeed! According to the doctrines of the Church, some feeling of penitence, some purpose of reparation and amendment, are demanded, at least in our day, to give validity to absolution; so that absolution is conditional; yet the communion is not! Indeed, the measure is now full! It is impossible to conceive how the importance of a rite, or the power of a sign, can be further exaggerated; it it impossible more completely to stifle the spirituality of the Christian religion under the pressure of symbolism.

According to our doctrines, the communion is nothing without the dispositions suitable to the communion; it is the rind without

* Session vii., Rules 6 and 8, on the Sacraments in general.

† Théologie Morale du Cardinal Gousset, Vol. II. No. 46.

‡ Definition of the Real Presence given by the Council of Trent. Session xiii., Rule 1.

the fruit; it is the branch without the vivifying sap. Accordingly, the fundamental principle of our Eucharistic service is merely the application of the words of Holy Scripture to this sacred act: "Draw nigh to God, and he will draw nigh to you."* Each communicant thus makes his own communion. As "the spirits of the prophets were subject to the prophets,"† the feelings which lead to the holy table are subject (shall I say?) to the communicants. So St. Paul judged when, in declaring to the Corinthians the conditions of a saving communion, the first that he lays down is, *that each examine himself, and then eat of that bread and drink of that cup.*‡ If when the Christian partakes in the commemoration of the Lord's death, his heart is penetrated with the dispositions demanded by this solemn act, by faith, penitence, humility and love,—God in his goodness takes care that he shall find in those dispositions the divine grace; and it is in vain for him to expect to obtain it without, or to appropriate it differently. Faith is necessary: what has he to do with the symbols of salvation, who has not faith in Christ as a Saviour? or what are those symbols to him? Repentance is necessary: he who finds no sins to repent of in heart and life, has neither right nor need to seek a Redeemer who may assure him of their forgiveness, and a sanctification which may efface them. Humility is necessary: for what are we all before God and at the holy table, but prodigal children returning to the Father's house; and before the Redeemer, what are we but his redeemed who without him would never have recovered the road? And love is necessary; if the holy table is the most sure pledge that God *first loved us*,§ an admirable memorial that none has *greater love than he who gives his life for his friends*,‖ and the most touching symbol of brotherhood among Christians, who are all children of the same Heavenly Father, all elect in the same Saviour, all partakers of the same eternal life. Take away these dispositions, and you deny the communion in the act of communicating;—take away these convictions, these emotions of gratitude, hope, tenderness, and what remains? A few crumbs of bread and a few drops of wine, the wood of the table and the linen cloth upon it; in a word, bare symbolism, dead matter, not religion. The most sacred performance of outward worship, the most faithful representation of the Christian religion in its entireness, would be no more than what St. Paul calls *bodily exercise*,¶ one of those invocations which reduce themselves to crying Lord, Lord! and do not give *entrance into the kingdom of God;*** it would be *the letter that killeth*, and not *the spirit that giveth life;*†† it would be *eating and drinking to one's own condemnation.*‡‡ Such is our faith. It reconciles everything,

* James iv. 8. † 1 Cor. xix. 32. ‡ 1 Cor. xi. 28.
§ 1 John iv. 19. ‖ John xv. 13. ¶ 1 Tim. iv. 8.
** Matt. vii. 21. †† 2 Cor. iii. 6. ‡‡ 1 Cor. xi. 29.

the gospel and conscience; the power of grace, the efficacy of the sacrament, and the moral liberty and responsibility of the worshiper. But under the influence of that system which gives a real value to the mere sign, to the elements of the Supper, and finds in them a guarantee, a resource, an opportunity (shall I say?) for salvation, inevitable injuries are inflicted upon Christianity; minds will always be found that will be satisfied with the sign, and such minds having no inducement to seek for faith, (which they can do without, even in the act of communicating) will not change their gods even if, to their thought, they are not gods.

Notwithstanding the sadness of the words just used, the moral consequences which we may deduce from this study of religious symbolism are, in one point of view, consolatory and happy.

This system of doctrines, known in scientific theology as the efficacy produced by the fact of the work being done and not by the act of him who does it,* is matter of great and painful surprise to you. You can with difficulty conceive that men should have strayed so far in former times, and that any should in our days remain so far removed, from the simple and saving faith of the gospel. But with whatever degree of error you consider these opinions chargeable, are you the judges of your fellow-men who profess them? No; you are no more than their brethren; and it is your duty, as it is your interest, to respect these beliefs and practices, simply because your brethren respect them and consider them as Christian. The law of charity, which restrains us from *thinking evil*,† forbids you to suspect their sincerity; and what they consider sacred ought to be (not in the eye of faith, but of charity) sacred to you, though your own understanding of religion compels you to regard it as an illusion. *As children of light*, pity them in their darkness, and especially for remaining in it; but *conduct yourselves as children of light*,‡ never forgetting that involuntary error is not culpable before God, and that he who condemns that kind of error is merely returning from the bosom of your freedom to that law of slavery which says: Out of the Church there is no salvation. Here lies your duty, my brethren; and it is also your interest; by respecting the faith and worship of our fellow-citizens, we shall cause our own to be respected; we shall then have a right to claim from them,—not toleration, which is a revocable favour,—but respect and liberty, which are an irresistible right. Doubt not that the defence of the opinions we profess may harmonize, in mutual support, with the fraternal

* The scholastic terms consecrated by antiquity and still in use are: *ex opere operato*, as contradistinguished from *ex opere operantis;* they are very energetic in their conciseness and admirably express the Catholic and Protestant systems respectively.

† 1 Cor. xiii. 5. ‡ Eph. v. 8.

regard due to opposite convictions; and be well assured that the peace of Christendom, in its various churches, among their respective clergies and in the bosom of families, is to be found on this one condition, and can only be established on this basis. Do you, as followers of the Reformation, set the example of this tranquil but firm charity, even if the like be not rendered to you, even if you be pursued with the two reproaches which it remains for me to discuss.

The first is, that according to our faith, which gives to symbolism the value merely of an image and not of a reality, of a means and not of an end, which assigns to the sacrament no other than that spiritual efficacy of which the believer finds it the source,—it is no longer the clergy that constitute the church. It is true, my brethren, that in the system opposed to ours, that system which maintains the absolute necessity of the sacraments and their effect independently of the dispositions of the receiver, or even of any participation of his in what is going on (as in the case of the baptism of a new-born child or the *viaticum* of a dying person);—it is true that, under this system, the clergy constitute the Church: it depends upon them; it cannot do without them; it cannot, under any circumstances, exist without them; it requires that sacrifice at the altar which the priest alone can offer; it requires that power of absolution which the priest alone can exercise; it requires that infallible authority which decrees the true faith, and with which the clergy alone are invested. On our part, we accept the reproach, and glory in it. No; it is not the clergy that constitute the Church. I do not mean to say (and you will easily believe me) that our ministry is a usurpation and a needless thing; and that you would do well to supersede it by leaving the celebration of worship to the first comer. God forbid that the flock should break the crook which the Lord has put in our hands, and which, after the example of the primitive church and our own forefathers, we have ventured to grasp! Our ministry, stamped as it is with truly Christian equality, without precedence, without hierarchy, without degrees of dignity except that which God ordains among all, namely that of age,—our ministry is necessary and is suitable to your wants. You need it, in order that the community may profit by the studies and labours of a life wholly spent in searching out the true meaning of the sacred volume; you need it, in order that the experience of the pastor may, as occasion requires, direct the impulses of your piety, calm your troubled conscience, cherish your penitential ardour, promote your reconciliations and console your sorrows and bereavements; you need it, to preside over your sacred meetings; there to bind closer your bond of brotherhood, to help you to raise your prayers in common, and celebrate as brethren the memory of the Saviour's death. And yet,—levelled to the same rank as yourselves, at

the foot of the cross, raising no altar to which we may approach nearer than you, and assured that the veil of the sanctuary has been rent not for the priests alone but for the whole people,—we acknowledge distinctly, that it is not the clergy that constitute the Church. It is the Lord; the Lord who made it, who preserves it, who directs it, who alone reigns over it and will never forsake it. He has not delegated it to any; he has entrusted it to none but himself; he gives account of it to himself alone; it exists independently of us, its ministers; if we should lose it, it would recover itself; it is everywhere, because the Lord is everywhere; it is wherever *two or three are gathered together in his name;** wherever men believe, wherever they pray, wherever they love, wherever they rest on his mercy, wherever they mourn in hope, wherever they live in holiness, wherever they die in peace. And we, your pastors because you choose that we should be so, *are your servants for the love of Christ,*† and pretend to no *domination over the Lord's heritage.*‡

This first reproach is external; there is another which penetrates further and touches the very heart of Christianity. It is alleged that, with the system which recognizes individuality, freedom and self-judgment in matters of faith, confession of sins directly to God, and a celebration of the Lord's Supper in which each communicant alone knows the value of his own communion, Protestant Christianity is much easier than Catholic Christianity. See, says some one, observe the worshiper under the rule of the Church of Rome; what a crowd of observances, of practices, of rites to be celebrated, of prayers to be offered; how many duties according to the time of the year attach him, as so many bonds, to the clergy; with how many scruples must his conscience alarm him; how many details are there in the questions at confession, to judge by the manuals of confessorial science; how many directions for him to receive, how many precautions to take; and above all, what attentive submission is due to the commands of the Church; what implicit faith in her dogmas old and new, dating from ages back, or only years! The Protestant believes what he pleases, practises as he thinks right, prays at his own hour, communicates in his own way, reads his Bible to explain it in his own style, turns over its pages as he pleases, and seeks reconciliation with God individually and apart, without superintendance, warning or censure. My brethren, in spite of these appearances, so far from accepting this reproach as I did the former, I retort it, and I declare to you, that I know, and we all know, something that is difficult in a very different way from this accumulation of observances and this excess of docility: that difficult thing is simply, to satisfy ourselves, knowing that we must in that way satisfy God; it is, to remember that he

* Matt. xviii. 20. † 2 Cor. iv. 5. ‡ 1 Pet. v. 3.

will demand an account of every instant of our life, every emotion of our heart, every word of our lips; of all our thoughts, desires and prayers; it is, to hold ourselves continually ready to appear before that Supreme Judge from whom conscience can have no secrets; it is to serve him while measuring by our own conscience the service we pay him, to bless him while weighing in our own conscience the gratitude we offer, to implore pardon while counting over our own faults;—and in the duties of public worship it is, to approach the holy table after *having examined ourselves*, and stretch forth our hands to the *bread of life* and *the cup of deliverance* while taking good care that we do not throw into the eternal balance our own condemnation. I appeal to your faith and your intelligence, to the faith and intelligence of all, that this is the kind of Christianity given us by our holy Reformation; and was this giving its disciples a very easy part to fulfil? No; this individual responsibility is our glory and our strength; it is also our hope, because we know that in all our struggles the Lord says to us, *My grace is sufficient for thee.** And so, confiding in that divine help which is never refused, assured that truth will triumph in the end, and that nations will one day leave the service of gods which are not gods, I would, in conclusion, plant in the depth of your hearts these two declarations of the gospel, which sum up all the results of this discourse; the one referring to the judgment impending, *Every one shall give account of himself to God*;† the other to the law of that supreme judgment, *It shall be required of every one according to what has been given him.*‡

M. RONGE'S ACCOUNT OF THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE REFORM COMMUNITIES OF GERMANY.

In the clerical seminary of Breslau, two superintendant priests acted as our professors. They shewed very little zeal, and did not say anything, when instead of saying the long Latin prayers with the others, I gave the time to study. The younger of the two was a good teacher, and I learned from him the method of instructing children and conducting a school. Afterwards he came into conflict with the Church of Rome and was suspended. How the Catholic priests in general respect their own ceremonies, I learned at the time when we were being exercised in reading the Mass. Among our number were two from the Polish part of Silesia, whom we regarded as simpletons. Their behaviour justified our estimate of them. These two youths were always put forward to perform the various bows

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* 2 Cor. xii. 9. † Rom. xiv. 12. ‡ Luke xii. 48.

and gesticulations at the altar prescribed in the Mass; all the others and the professor stood below the altar, and laughed most of the time at the strange gestures and expressions on the countenances of these two silly candidates of the Romish Church. Although I could not help laughing like the rest, I nevertheless felt increasingly sad in my mind when I saw the service degraded into a mere spectacle, and noticed that most of those subordinate priests who had to sing the prayers in the breviary for the prelates, clearly shewed that they were nothing better than mere clerical performers. In the eighth month of the college year, the time for our ordination drew near, and as we were taught from our youth that it was a great sacrament, I prepared at least with sincerity, although it was my purpose to learn whether that higher spiritual power would be imparted to me in a supernatural way as we had been taught.

The reader will not forget that I had not yet arrived at higher and positive religious thoughts and convictions, and that I examined everything in the Catholic Church with impartiality, and even with the desire of finding their doctrines true. With the greatest attention and with a beating heart, I listened to all the words of the bishop who conducted the ordination, and I had sufficient time for reflection, as the ceremony lasted more than four hours. We had been told that this higher power was to be imparted to us in a supernatural way at the moment the bishop put the holy oil upon our heads and laid his hand upon us. That moment came and passed by, but I felt not the least alteration in my mind or heart, and so I left the cathedral with the same sad heart with which I had entered it. One thing, however, I noticed soon; several of my companions or confratres, as they termed themselves, behaved with no little pride, and affected condescension to their friends, who came to visit them after this ceremony. From one of them I afterwards heard later, that he requested even his mother to kiss his hand, as he was now a holy priest. My last hope was to see the practical effects of the system as I became familiar with the sphere of action of a Catholic priest. I thought, perhaps I might feel better satisfied when I could devote myself entirely to the improvement and welfare of the community to which I should be called to minister, and, having no personal end in view, could employ my time and powers exclusively for their benefit. This indeed seems perfectly right; but the question arises, can a man have enthusiasm and devotion if he is nothing else than a part of a machine, having no right to act according to his convictions—if, in fact, he is a slave? That lesson I had yet to learn, and I learned it by bitter experience, after suffering the most acute inward struggles. After the ordination, I hastened to my father and family in my native mountain village in the autumn of 1840, having been only once during eight months out of my clerical prison, on an occa-

sion when I took a six days' holiday in the spring and visited the giant mountains, which had invigorated body and mind.

But what a change in the conduct of the people in my native village! I had been always openly and heartily received when, at holiday time, I visited them; but now the old men strangely touched their hats, and the younger, my schoolfellows, looked at me shyly and with reserve. Thus I learned that, having become a Romish priest, I was shut out from their confidence, and I afterwards learnt how correct this natural instinct of the people is. They cannot place any reliance upon a man who belongs body and soul to the Pope. Six months after, I was appointed chaplain at Grottkau, a small town in Silesia. I did my best to devote myself to my duties, and had my happiest hours in the school among the children. But soon the conflict arose even in the school between my conviction and the injunctions of the Church. The children, feeling instinctively my sympathies with them, soon became attached to me, and followed me often in a body to my house. The parents liked this; not so the parish priest; and he soon found out that I did not teach enough respecting the Pope, and nothing concerning the Devil, and this of course he regarded as heresy. I had a scene with him about the matter; and as I knew that reasoning was of no use, I contented myself with telling him he should never again with my permission enter the school for the purpose of bullying the children; and that if he did come, I would shew him the way out of it in a manner that would be very unpleasant to him. In the mean time, by experience and study I was advancing in religious culture, and higher notions began to ripen in my mind. Thus I became better able to understand the whole fabric of the Catholic hierarchy, and to see their injurious and destructive influence upon individuals and nations, and felt at the same time the necessity of a change and an organization of the lay members in opposition to the priesthood. After a year of this experience, I took the resolution to break with Rome, and considered it my duty to unmask the hypocrisy of the priesthood. It was now only a question of the right time and the opportunity of publicly proving the degrading system of Popery, even more degrading to the clergy than to the lay members.

I soon found an opportunity of beginning my work against the Romish tyranny for the liberation of the people and myself. The chapter of Breslau had elected a new bishop, and the elected was liberal, but a man 80 years of age. The Pope hesitated to confirm the election, and the clergy in Silesia grew angry, and I heard them talk about the case. But although they talked, no one dared to do anything. I then resolved to give expression to my opinions on the matter, and wrote a strong article against Rome in a liberal paper. I put the signature of "A Chaplain." Soon after, I received a letter from the chapter of Breslau,

inquiring if I had written that article. A Catholic gentleman advised me to be cautious in my reply, and especially to get testimonials prepared, for they would begin to set at work their system of calumniation. My first reply was to the effect, that I did not recognize their right to put such a question to me, and that I considered myself perfectly at liberty to express my opinions. They tried then secretly to induce me to recant, promising me, by means of confidential priests, a better situation. I put this letter in my desk without reply. As I shewed no sign of repentance, the chapter drew up a kind of indictment, alleging that I did not perform my duties according to the precepts of the Church, that I was in the habit of wearing a short coat and too long hair, and that in consequence of this and having written an article against the Pope, I was suspended from my office, and ordered to come to Breslau and place myself in the clerical prison. The news soon spread through the little town; the enlightened ridiculed the chapter of Breslau, and the parents of the children I had instructed became very angry with the prelates. I employed a lawyer, and he drew up a memorial, adding to it the testimonials of the magistrate, the representatives of the citizens, and the head of the police, most of them Catholics. The citizens and the magistrate stated that I had performed my duties well and to their satisfaction, that I had well educated their children, and that my mode of dress was in no way an obstacle to their religious edification. I instructed my lawyer to write in a manly and straightforward manner, for I would not be humiliated before those priests whom I did not respect, and that it was my intention to leave the priesthood and attack the Romish hierarchy. The lawyer, a liberal Catholic, looked at me a moment and said, "Sir, are you a fool?" Other clever people thought, perhaps, like that lawyer.

Our memorial and testimonials had not the least effect upon such a hardened body of Catholic priests as the chapter of Breslau; and it was to me, indeed, matter of perfect indifference how they replied to it, as I should have left the Church even if they had given a favourable reply, because it was now entirely against my conviction to stay a moment longer; and the conduct of the priests whom I had met during the year of my office was so disgusting to me, that I felt I never could associate with such men. The documents, however, I had obtained were of great service to me two years later. The court of Rome having heard of the opposition of a priest in the affair of the bishop, immediately sent their consent, and the new liberal bishop was introduced. Thus the source of an agitation against Rome was stopped, and I saw that the right time had not yet arrived. In a farewell poem to the inhabitants of Grottkau I expressed this.

After twelve years' long study and expense, I had to begin the world afresh. I left the safe position of the mother Church, and

wandered along the road alone. I was without means, and directed my steps towards the house of a friend in the country. It was in January, 1843, that I left thus the first and last situation which I had as a Catholic priest; but I felt happier than before, because I had rescued my freedom and self-respect. I felt that I was now a man, that I could be true to myself and to others, and I was no longer a tool of the Romish priesthood, and that I was not helping the degradation of my country.

JOHANNES RONGE.

(To be continued.)

MEMOIR OF THE LATE REV. CHARLES WELLBELOVED, OF YORK.*

MR. WELLBELOVED had through life a high appreciation of natural beauty. This amounted in him not merely to admiration of magnificent scenery, which he had in common with many other persons, but to the power of finding matter for interest and enjoyment in the scenes of any neighbourhood in which he happened to be. This taste, however originally formed, may probably have been fostered by his intimacy with Mr. Wood, of Leeds, who was remarkable for his appreciation and enjoyment of the beauties of nature. Their intercourse, which embraced many topics of common interest, increased when Mr. Wellbeloved assumed the charge of Manchester College. With Mr. Wood, not merely as his older friend, but in the official character of Visitor of the College, Mr. Wellbeloved held the closest communication upon all the difficulties which he encountered in his new position, and upon all questions of interest arising in connection with it. It may illustrate the habits and the manners of the men and of the times, to mention that when Mr. Wellbeloved desired a consultation with Mr. Wood beyond what the means of written communication afforded, their habit was to fix a meeting for the first leisure day at some point between York and Leeds,—Thorp Arch, Tadcaster, Bramham Moor, Wetherby or Aberford. Here each repaired on horseback in the morning. Whichever arrived first, ordered dinner at some later hour. They walked an hour or two, dined, and at the end of the day returned to their respective homes. To the close of his life, Mr. Wellbeloved spoke with pleasure of those meetings, and of the varied conversations on questions of education, theology and morals, mingled with the practical pursuit of natural history, antiquarian research, and keen enjoyment of the beauties of nature. Occasionally their rambles took a more

* Continued from p. 634.

extended form. The details of one journey Mr. Wellbeloved used to tell with strong interest after the lapse of half a century. Quitting their respective homes on horseback after the discharge of their afternoon Sunday's duties, they met at Borrowby, five miles north of Thirsk, and pursued their way into the county of Durham, where they remained a day or two at Hartlepool with some friends who were staying there, returning home by the beautiful scenery in the neighbourhood of Helmsley. Mr. Wellbeloved used to relate how, in riding down Bilsdale, the attention of his friend, an enthusiastic botanist, was attracted by the sight of the willow herb in profuse bloom in a piece of water below them, which he pointed out with delight to his younger companion, ending with the exhortation, "Get off, you dog, you are only half my age, and gather it!" Mr. Wellbeloved used to end his narrative by saying, in a kind of apologetic tone, "We stayed so long enjoying ourselves, that I am afraid we neither of us reached our homes till between one and two o'clock on Sunday morning, ourselves and horses both dreadfully tired."

In middle life, Mr. Wellbeloved's vacations were usually spent with his young family upon the Yorkshire coast, with all the scenery of which he became perfectly familiar. His early visits had been chiefly to Filey; at a later period he selected Marske, in Cleveland, where it was at one time his habit to extend his walk every morning before breakfast to a particular opening in the sand-hills through which could be obtained a view of Roseberry Toppin. Marske combined the advantages of fine sands and a magnificent sea with the neighbourhood of beautiful inland scenery. The valley which lies between Upleatham and Skelton used to be the object of Mr. Wellbeloved's especial admiration, and was playfully named by him the Vale of Tempe. One pleasant addition to Mr. Wellbeloved's associations with Marske was made in the fact, that on the last visit which he paid there he was treated with marked kindness and consideration by the present noble owner of Upleatham.

In the year 1827, the 58th of Mr. Wellbeloved's age, he enjoyed the pleasure of making the tour of Scotland with his friends, Mr. and Mrs. G. W. Wood and their son. Mr. G. W. Wood had inherited his father's warm admiration for natural scenery and interest in natural history and antiquities, combined with the deepest respect and attachment for his father's friend. The journey was performed in a manner which modern improvements have rendered obsolete, but the enjoyment of which we doubt whether any other form of travelling equals,—a light open carriage with post-horses. Mr. Wellbeloved's comfort was unfortunately, during a portion of the time, marred by illness; but apart from this, nothing could be more striking than his high and varied enjoyment. The party ascended Tinto (the "hill of fire") in Dumfriesshire, visited Loch Lomond and Inverary, were

introduced by the late Duke of Atholl in person to the geological wonders of Glen Tilt, spent some days in Edinburgh, where they enjoyed the notice of the present amiable and accomplished Lord Murray,* and returned home by Abbotsford and Branxholme. But of all the scenes which he visited in this journey, Mr. Wellbeloved's interest was, in appearance at least, most strongly excited by the valley of Glencoe, where the wildest natural scenery was combined with the recollection of a terrible historical tragedy, which, almost forgotten by the present generation of our countrymen until recently brought before them anew by the brilliant but faithful pen of Lord Macaulay, had probably been in Mr. Wellbeloved's earlier days a subject of general interest and familiar discussion, in connection with the events of the Revolution and the character and conduct of William III. A survivor of the journey well remembers Mr. Wellbeloved's gathering, with the intention of preserving it as a memorial of the spot, a specimen of that beautiful but not uncommon plant, the cup-lichen. That plant, often since seen by Mr. Wellbeloved's young companion in many different situations, has never failed to recall to his memory the spot where its beauties were first shewn to him by Mr. Wellbeloved, in connection with the widely different interest of the scene and narrative of the terrible massacre of Glencoe.

We have dwelt on these details because we feel that they place the man before us. They shew how the profound and varied learning on all subjects connected with the highest interests of man, which placed Mr. Wellbeloved in so high a position amongst his contemporaries, was combined with the disposition for pure, simple and healthful enjoyment, and with the power of drawing from Nature on every side the means of pleasure and improvement, and illustrations of the beauty, usefulness and harmony of the works of God. In his later life, Mr. Wellbeloved's absences from home were necessarily more limited to the neighbourhood of York; but wherever he went, he still saw beauty and found enjoyment; and we well remember how, during his ordinary residence at home, a walk or a ride on a fine day to Heslington field, the highest ground within his immediate reach, was ever the source of enjoyment and gratification. It was characteristic of the same taste that he greatly enjoyed looking from the window of his library at the rising sun; and it was to him the loss of one of the simple pleasures of his life when, a few years before his death, and when he was less able than formerly to go abroad, the re-building of the York

* John Archibald Murray, the friend of Brougham, Horner and Sydney Smith, and one of the surviving founders of the Edinburgh Review; Member for Leith in the Parliaments of 1832, 1834 and 1837; Lord Advocate of Scotland, 1834; appointed one of the Judges of the Court of Session, 1839; married, 1826, Mary, daughter of William Rigby, Esq., of Oldfield Hall, Cheshire.

County Hospital upon a slightly altered site shut out, by its broad and lofty dimensions, his morning view of the eastern horizon.

Mr. Wellbeloved was able to attend some, but not many, of the meetings of the British Association, which was founded at York in 1831. His name appears amongst the list of those who attended the meeting at Cambridge in 1833, and we believe that on this occasion he enjoyed the hospitality of more than one of the Colleges of the University. To the close of his life, the minute and accurate reports of the proceedings of the Association which appeared in the columns of the Athenæum were always read by him with the closest interest.

In politics, Mr. Wellbeloved's feelings, so far as our means of information extend, might perhaps be best described as consisting in an attachment to the principles of Charles James Fox, a statesman the details of whose political career are now comparatively little recollected amidst the stronger interest of recent events, but whose large and noble views for the best interests of mankind commanded the sympathy and confidence of the best friends of human improvement during the earlier part of Mr. Wellbeloved's life. In active politics, however, Mr. Wellbeloved perhaps took less direct part than many men of his day, even in the profession to which he belonged. His interest in them was that which a good man feels in what concerns the welfare of his own and other countries. But political action, beyond the record of his vote as an elector, was not the scene which suited his habits, or which he felt to be his appropriate sphere. We believe that he had, in common with many other friends of freedom, felt deep disappointment at the results which followed the opening of the first French Revolution. But without ever shewing strong political feelings, at least during the time that we knew him, public affairs were always to him an object of attention and interest. There were, we believe, few week-days in his life when he did not read with care a London daily paper. As a student at Hackney, he read the Morning Chronicle, then, under the editorship of Perry, a journal of remarkable ability and influence, the organ, and in no slight degree the guide, of the liberal party of those days. The Morning Chronicle he continued to read through many succeeding years, until it became in recent times the organ of the Young-England and Puseyite schools, and, by its defiance of the principles which had once done honour to its name, compelled Mr. Wellbeloved, probably one of the oldest of its readers, to seek for channels of information elsewhere.

We propose, in the limited space at our command this month, to describe some of the various services rendered by Mr. Wellbeloved to the interesting city in which he lived more than three-fifths of a century. Very seldom in local history do we find the

record of services so long continued and of such an important character. The motive which prompted them was the simple desire of doing good to those of his fellow-creatures who were more immediately within the sphere of his influence. Such was his retiring modesty, that he habitually shunned rather than sought the notice of public assemblies, entering them occasionally from a sense of duty, but preferring the more private paths of usefulness, which have no attractions to vain and selfish men.

Public Libraries have in many of our towns been indebted for their formation and superintendence to Unitarian ministers. The York Subscription Library, than which few, if any, provincial institutions of the kind possess a better selection of books (especially in the departments of history, belles-lettres and antiquities), owes its existence to Mr. Wellbeloved. It was one of the first objects of a general kind to which he directed his attention. He had not been many hours in York before he was introduced to Mr. S. W. Nicoll, the Recorder of the city; their acquaintance ripened into friendship, which was interrupted only by Mr. Nicoll's death. In conjunction with this gentleman, Mr. Wellbeloved took measures for establishing a permanent Library in York. His coadjutor was more apt in devising plans than energetic in carrying them into action. The labouring oar was left to Mr. Wellbeloved. All that he, a young man, a stranger to nearly all around him, could do, was to form, out of the limited circle of persons whom he could influence, a Book Society, hoping and intending to enlarge it into a Public Library. The failure of his first effort (the society lasted only a year) did not discourage him. His increasing influence enabled him, in 1794, to enlist new coadjutors, the chief of whom was the late Sir William Strickland (then Mr. Strickland), who was his neighbour, and had placed two sons under his tuition. In the spring of that year, the first meeting of the Book Society, which soon after took the title of the "York Subscription Library," was held in Mr. Wellbeloved's house. There, too, the members assembled each month to transact the business of the Society, thence the books were circulated, and there they were deposited. He was the Secretary, Librarian, Treasurer and President, or, as he himself said, the "factotum" of the Society. When it assumed larger dimensions and took a public name, the laws were altered to correspond with the altered circumstances, the rules of the Leeds Library being the model adopted. In one respect the plan at York was peculiar, resulting from the circumstances out of which the Library had grown. Instead of the selection of books being entrusted to a Committee, this work was done by all the members who chose to attend the meetings, and the result has been on the whole satisfactory. The early years of the Society were unpropitious to public schemes depending on popular support. It was a time of alarm and bitter party-spirit. Fears

arose in the minds of some as to its religious and political tendencies; and others, without inquiry, denounced it as "heretical and jacobinical." With so much prudence and with such freedom from party-spirit were its affairs administered, that alarm presently subsided, and some who had denounced afterwards joined the institution. Its jubilee year was celebrated in the spring of 1844. Mr. Wellbeloved was upon that occasion the sole survivor of its founders, and after giving, in a speech of equal precision and modesty, its early history, he said, "To have contributed in any measure to the formation and prosperity of this institution, I consider as one of the happy events of my life. And I most deeply regret that there is no one of its original founders left to share with me in the gratification I now experience, in seeing this its fiftieth anniversary thus publicly and honourably commemorated. In the present circumstances and character of the Library, and in the interest thus manifested in its continuance and prosperity, they would have found with me an abundant recompence for all the exertions which, through evil as well as good report, we made to provide what we thought would be permanent sources of rational entertainment and of solid information to the generations who shall succeed us. The wishes of those with whom the plan originated have been fully accomplished."

There was one department of usefulness to which Mr. Wellbeloved devoted much time and thought, attracted to it by that tender humanity which was a conspicuous trait in his character, the superintendence of institutions for the reception and treatment of the insane. It may be mentioned as an illustration of the benevolence of his mind, that he once said, that next to the Christian ministry, he knew of no occupation in which he could feel greater interest than the care of persons of disordered intellect. As a Governor and Chairman of the Committee of the York Lunatic Asylum, he had many opportunities of gratifying his humane desire to alleviate the sufferings of this hapless class of his fellow-creatures. But the history of that institution, and the circumstances under which Mr. Wellbeloved was induced to qualify himself as a Governor, are too remarkable to be passed over in any memoir of his life. The recital of the facts will disclose the existence of abuses, now, it is to be hoped, nowhere to be found, in the conduct of asylums, and will illustrate the necessity there is for ensuring an intelligent and independent superintendence over the proceedings of those entrusted with the care of the insane, and also the importance of untiring and even jealous vigilance on the part of the friends of humanity.

The York Lunatic Asylum was established in 1772, by means of a public subscription, for the reception of lunatics, being either paupers or belonging to distressed and indigent families. The institution was placed under the care of Dr. Hunter, a phy-

sician residing in York, and possessing the confidence of persons of every class. The subscribed funds being exhausted by the erection of the building, and none being available for the continuous expenses of the Asylum, the benevolent objects of its founders seemed likely to be frustrated. To remedy this evil and provide a fund adequate to the wants of the institution, the physician was authorized to receive within the Asylum a limited number of opulent patients, from whose friends payments should be received proportioned to the circumstances of the patient and the accommodation given. A Committee of superintendence was at the same time appointed. This part of the system, so essential if abuses were to be checked or corrected, was unfortunately neglected, and the entire management of the Asylum fell into the uncontrolled hands of the physician and his servants. The proceedings of Dr. Hunter were by some persons looked upon from an early period with suspicion, and attention was called by means of a pamphlet to the government of the Asylum, in 1788, by the Rev. William Mason (the poet), Precentor of York Minster. He complained that a public charity was being perverted from its designed object, for the benefit of persons of opulence and of the physician. He was supported in his views by Mr. Burgh and other persons of respectability, but the majority of the Governors refused to listen to his remonstrances, and passed resolutions expressing confidence in their physician, and discrediting the good motives of those who censured him.* For some years Mr. Mason and his friends continued their agitation; but, finding all their efforts counteracted by the influence of Dr. Hunter, at length gave up in despair their desired reforms. But had they known the flagitious system of neglect, severity and cruelty practised by the keepers at the Asylum, they would, it is to be hoped, have persevered in their remonstrances, until they had succeeded in dissipating the too credulous confidence of the Governors and the public. Hunter was succeeded in his very profitable post by a pupil, a Dr. Best. The system which had for years prevailed went on publicly unchallenged till 1813. In that year, Mr. Godfrey Higgins, an intelligent and active magistrate of the West-Riding, became through his magisterial duties acquainted with a case of great cruelty practised at the Asylum on a pauper patient

* Dr. Hunter was, we believe, the medical attendant and personal friend of Mr. Cappe. In the blank page of a volume belonging to the latter, there were written by his son, Dr. Joseph Cappe, these jocular lines, in allusion to the hostility of the poet to the physician:

"Heavens! how the little poet brawls,
And yells / still \ without the Asylum walls!
Dear Hunter, sine joco,
Pop him in; be not too nice,
And urge a brother bard's advice,
Desipere in loco." (Horace.)

whom he had previously caused to be sent there. His investigations into the facts and the system were stopped at the outset by the working of a resolution passed in that very year, at the instance of Dr. Best, ordering that no person should be allowed to visit any of the patients without a special written order *signed by the physician.* As no visitors had been appointed since 1794, it seemed a hopeless thing to attempt to draw the veil from the abuses which were supposed to exist. But Mr. Higgins appealed to the public through the press. Many circumstances previously floating on popular rumour, indicating the existence of needless cruelty in the treatment of patients, were now remembered. Again the Governors were disposed to throw the shield of their confidence over their officer. But the agitation of the question had aroused in the city and county of York a determination that the investigation now seen to be necessary, should not be stifled by the exercise of official courtesy. A number of gentlemen, amongst whom was Mr. Wellbeloved, qualified as Governors, and took their seats at the Board on the 10th of December, 1813, for the purpose of seeing justice done in the matter originated by the public spirit and humanity of Mr. Higgins. Much indignation was expressed at the appearance of the new Governors; but they proceeded calmly to the performance of the duty which lay before them. Mr. Nicoll (Mr. Wellbeloved's friend) moved the appointment of a Committee of investigation into the abuses alleged. The chair was happily filled on that occasion by the Archbishop (the venerable Dr. Harcourt), and he, by his calmness, patience and dignity, not only kept the meeting within the bounds of decorum, but, notwithstanding the opposition at first expressed to the motion, by declaring his opinion that investigation ought not to be refused, secured the adoption of Mr. Nicoll's motion. A division took place on the names of the Committee, and such strength had Dr. Best's partizans, that, although every one of the thirteen new Governors voted for it, Mr. Nicoll's list was carried by a majority of only one vote. The investigation of the Committee took place without delay. Public feeling was so roused on the subject, that the funds necessary for defraying the expense of witnesses brought from a distance were raised by the ladies of York. Gross abuses, and cases of neglect and cruelty too revolting to be described in detail, were proved. Secret cells of the most abominable kind, with chains, existed; but an attempt was made to keep these from the knowledge of the Committee of investigation. The Committee finished their work of investigation on the 27th of December, 1813. On the evening of the following day, a circumstance occurred which made a deep impression on the public mind, and in some particulars distressingly confirmed the existence of habitual and gross mismanagement. Early in the evening of December 28, a fire broke out in and

burnt down a detached wing of the Asylum: the physician was absent; so was the apothecary; the steward was not on his post; some of the keepers were away; and the consequence of the untended state of the house, or of the condition and treatment of some of the inmates, was, that four of the patients perished in the flames. There was not wanting in the minds of some persons the suspicion that the fire was not accidental, but was the wilful act of a servant, desirous of destroying the evidences of some abuses, then undetected or established by only imperfect proof. But as the Assurance Company paid the loss without demur, we may conclude that this dark crime was not chargeable on any of the officers of the Asylum.

It is not necessary to pursue any further this harrowing story. Eventually, and by a small majority, a resolution was passed by the Governors, thanking Mr. Higgins for his upright exertions in bringing the abuses of the Asylum to light. Dr. Best was compelled to retire, and the institution was put on a new and safe plan of government, and in its administration Mr. Wellbeloved took for a long succession of years an active part. The early proceedings in effecting the reform of the charity, of which we have given this brief narrative, must have been most painful to one of Mr. Wellbeloved's habitual diffidence and gentleness. The sudden entrance by means of a money qualification on the board of a charity in order to carry some particular resolution, is not a course of proceeding to be advocated on light grounds; but the result in this case shewed that Mr. Wellbeloved's judgment was as clear as his moral courage was admirable.

In the year 1829 occurred the attempt of the fanatic John Martin to destroy York Minster by fire, which, though happily arrested in its progress, was so far successful that nearly a fourth part of the building was reduced to bare and roofless walls.*

* We are indebted to Rev. J. H. Ryland for an interesting reminiscence of the second fire of York Minster.

"To have witnessed the scene of the burning of York Minster is an event in one's life never to be forgotten.

"I was then living with my sister at the head of the domestic department of the College during its last year at York. After the College prayers and supper, I had observed from one of our upper side rooms one of the windows of the west towers as though lighted from within, and presently afterwards the alarm reached us, which was soon confirmed, that 'the Minster was on fire.' It is easier to recall the scenes than the emotions of the occasion. The College was quickly deserted. My sister and myself, in company with one or two friends who had spent the evening with us, proceeded by the Lord Mayor's Walk and Gilly-gate, skirting the city walls north and west, and at no great distance from the Minster itself: our object was to approach as near to it as was safely allowed, and by St. Leonard's Place and Ferry to gain the remoter walls S.W. of the city, where we well knew the best view of it was to be had. I shall not easily forget its aspect at the opening in St. Leonard's Place, where the two west and the great central tower are seen in a group, nor the scene which Little Blake Street, a few steps further, presented, leading from Etridge's Hotel directly up to that majestic west-front, then a great beacon light in the darkening heaven: the narrow length of approach which the street afforded, lined with military

Throughout Yorkshire the consternation was great, for most Yorkshire men that we have known, of whatever creed, have taken a justifiable pride in the beauty and magnificence of their Minster, and by no son of the Establishment was this feeling entertained more strongly than by Mr. Wellbeloved. A subscription to repair the damage, commensurate of course with the outlay to be incurred, originated with the nobility and gentry of the county, but included amid the humbler contributors the Principal and the Treasurer of Manchester College, York. The subscription was commenced with the object of restoring the Minster to the condition in which it had been previous to the fire, and a pledge

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and filled with fire-engines, resembled more the assault of siege than the tamers of destruction. I well remember, having reached the S.W. corner of the walls near Mickle-gate Bar, the sudden impression of the leaning of the S.W. tower, to which the fire up to that time was confined, and in which it was raging as in a lofty furnace, and our retracing our steps in consequence, to put every available bed in vacant College rooms in readiness for some who we could not doubt would momentarily have none of their own. Meanwhile all access to the Minster yard was forbidden but to such as were in active service in pouring in the element to check the conflagration. The students were taking their turn in handing the buckets, and such was the abundance, if not the height and efficiency of water, that it is said it ran like a river out of the great south door to Stone-gate. On our return to the College in Monk-gate, we met Mr. and Miss Wellbeloved in Lord Mayor's Walk. I have a distinct recollection of the expression and manner of both. Mr. Wellbeloved's bordered on the feeling of witnessing a friend in pain. Everybody knew his devotion to the Minster, and every one of us through that night brought him momentary word of the prospects of the fire. It had now communicated from tower to roof, and began its fearful progress towards the choir; 'that it must all go,' was the despairing impression not only of our venerated friend, but of us all. But how can I describe the awe and grandeur, the terrible majesty, of the sight? We had called at Mr. Kenrick's, then in Gilly-gate, and you will recollect how the garden behind ran up the steep mound of the city walls just under, as it were, these beautifully majestic towers. We were free of the house, and at the moment we reached the upper windows behind, a heavy sound and a cloud of red and dark from the burning tower denoted the fall of the bells within. So near and yet so safe made us almost shudder. But how great was the sight! Nor less striking and extremely beautiful—for so beautiful a thing has beauty in its destruction—was the distant sight from a north field of the now skeleton and falling roof; an illumined frame-work, each spar and arched beam at glowing heat; and it is a sight for ever to have watched the fall of portion after portion as the main stem of those arms of fire in the midnight sky gave way, each fall telling its glowing story on the flashing up of wondrous light on the whole range of the north-wall painted windows within.

"It must have been in strange unusual excitement that we once more turned homewards, and not till some time after midnight did we hear, and were able to report to our venerated friend, that the brave old central tower had again said to the raging element, as in 1829, on its other side, 'Hitherto shalt thou come and no further, and here shall thy proud waves be stayed!'

"One recollection more and I have done. The day dawned on the great destruction; nor will Mr. Carpenter, of Warrington, or myself, readily forget the picture that presented itself as we entered the Minster garden at half-past three that morning—a few out of the hundreds of people that had been there on the trampled and draggled grass; a fireman vainly attempting to reach with his hose the charred eaves of the now roofless nave; and when we turned round at the western door (of all that vaulted height and length and breadth), only one slight and solitary arch remaining against the sky, while over the organ and from the great east window afar, was coming in the tender twilight, as if to look down in mercy on the ruin that was strewn beneath our feet."

was given that the money subscribed should be applied strictly to this purpose. When the work of restoration was about to commence, a plan was brought forward for a considerable departure from the original intention of restoring the building as it had previously been. This plan, with whomsoever originating, was adopted by the Dean of York, the late Sir William Cockburn, a worthy but eccentric and peculiar man, afterwards remarkable for being, if we are not mistaken, the last man in England who incurred the penalties, be they what they may, of ecclesiastical excommunication. The proposal was to remove the magnificent stone screen, dating, we believe, from the reign of Henry VI., which separates the choir from the nave, and which by vigorous efforts had been saved from destruction during the great fire. The arguments alleged for the alteration were twofold: first, that the screen from its height and position interrupted the view, which would otherwise be unbroken, from the west to the east of the Minster; secondly, that the screen was itself an excrescence of later date than the Minster, and, though of great intrinsic beauty, quite out of place, and in fact a deformity never contemplated by the original designers of the Minster. That much might be alleged in favour of the proposed alteration may be inferred from the fact that the Dean not only gained the concurrence of the Chapter (though not, we believe, with entire unanimity), but obtained the powerful approval of the Archbishop of York; of the High Sheriff of Yorkshire, the late Hon. E. Petre, who had presided at the county meeting which decided on the restoration; and of the great bulk of the more influential subscribers, who naturally deferred to an opinion sanctioned by such high authority. Mr. Smirke, the architect employed for the restoration of the Minster, strongly supported the alteration. In the midst of all this, a dissentient voice was raised by Mr. Wellbeloved, in a "Letter addressed to the Subscribers to the Restoration," by "A Subscriber." The attention excited by this publication led to its being noticed in a "Postscript to a Letter to Viscount Milton," by the Rev. W. Vernon Harcourt, an influential member of the chapter, and son of the Archbishop of York. The statements in this Letter called forth from Mr. Wellbeloved a published Letter to Mr. Vernon Harcourt, in which he maintained his original ground, that neither would the removal of the screen be an improvement to the building, nor was its actual position at variance with the original design. His arguments attracted so much attention, and joined issue so completely upon the grounds on which the change had been advocated, that Mr. Harcourt felt called upon again to take the field in a "Second Letter to Viscount Milton." The tone of Mr. Harcourt's reply was courteous and gentlemanly, but its style was perhaps that of a man—at least so it seems to us—who, whilst treating his opponent with perfect courtesy, felt

that he possessed the means of amply refuting every objection. If such were his feeling, the result did not answer his expectations. In a "Second Letter to the Subscribers," Mr. Wellbeloved shewed that the positions which he had originally advanced remained unshaken by Mr. Harcourt's replies, and were supported by a weight of evidence which was felt to be unanswerable. Thus, strange to say, Mr. Wellbeloved appeared as the defender of the Church against innovations proposed by the Dean and Chapter and the Archbishop.* Stranger still, his influence prevailed against that of the Dean and Chapter, the Archbishop and the High Sheriff, the aristocracy and gentry of the county. Of the latter class, one member only, the late Mr. Morritt, of Rokeby, the personal friend of Sir Walter Scott, early adopted Mr. Wellbeloved's views and gave them his strenuous support. What is perhaps most extraordinary is, that the style and manner in which Mr. Wellbeloved conducted the controversy so completely disarmed his opponents, that the proposed alteration was at last abandoned by its promoters, although they were in possession of a majority of the subscribers in its favour. A demand had been made and a promise had been given that, without the sanction of such a majority, the alteration should not be proceeded with. Circulars signed by the High Sheriff of Yorkshire, one of which now lies before us, were sent to every subscriber, requesting his assent or dissent to the alteration. A majority of the replies gave a consent to the course which the dignitaries of the Minster had approved, but they wisely and justly desisted from the proposal. A letter from the Dean of York, which appeared, we believe, in the York papers on the 29th January, 1831, announced that, though not himself convinced, he should not proceed further with the removal of the screen. In taking this course, he stated that he acted upon the recommendation of the late excellent and amiable Archbishop, the Hon. and Rev. Dr. Harcourt, who, it may be added,

* Towards the conclusion of his Second Letter: "If there should be any amongst my readers who, penetrating the disguise I have assumed, and knowing the humble station I occupy in society, are disposed to censure me for so decidedly opposing the earnest and declared wishes of persons of exalted rank and dignity, and for interfering in a matter in which I may be thought to have no concern, I beg leave to assure them that I have acted under the persuasion, not I trust erroneous, that such a building as the Minster at York belongs to all, and that it is unbecoming in no one to use his utmost endeavours to preserve that fine national monument of ancient science and art, as completely as possible, in that state which, during several preceding centuries, has rendered it an object of universal admiration. * * * To have felt myself compelled to enter the lists of controversy with one for whom I entertain sentiments of unfeigned respect, I can with perfect sincerity declare, has given me no slight degree of pain. But if I should thus, in any measure, prove the means of directing his attention to the antiquities of the Church of which he is so distinguished a member, and of exciting him to pursuits by which the honours he already so worthily enjoys, as the zealous friend and successful cultivator of natural science, may be increased, I shall have cause to look back upon the part I have taken with satisfaction rather than regret."—*Second Letter, &c., by a Subscriber.*

conveyed, we believe, to Mr. Wellbeloved his gratification at the manner in which the controversy had been conducted. It may be added, that Mr. Wellbeloved's more immediate opponent, the Rev. W. Vernon Harcourt, ever afterwards treated Mr. Wellbeloved with the most marked respect, and it was only, we believe, the accident of illness which prevented him from appearing at the head of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society to attend Mr. Wellbeloved's remains to their last resting-place.

The interest which this subject at the time excited has long since passed away. We have dwelt upon its details because they illustrate the position which Mr. Wellbeloved held, and the means by which he attained it. Those means were the combination of learning and ability with modesty and firmness, and with the simple pursuit of truth. In antiquarian, as in theological research, and in every subject indeed which his mind embraced, he never put forth an opinion without having maturely weighed every point which affected it. When his opinions were assailed, he shewed that the modest and retiring demeanour which ever characterized him did not prevent his coming forward to uphold with firm and decisive arguments whatever he felt to be important and believed to be right.

Before the Minster screen controversy had commenced, Mr. Wellbeloved had taken a warm interest in the establishment of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society. This institution had its origin in the provision of some place of deposit for the curious animal remains discovered in the cave of Kirkdale, which excited at the time so great a sensation in the geological world. The good fortune of the founders in engaging as keeper of the Museum the gentleman now known throughout the scientific world as the distinguished Professor Phillips, led to the rapid growth of the young Society. In a few years a building was needed, and the idea was entertained, and happily realized, of obtaining a grant from the Crown of a portion of the land which had formed the site of St. Mary's Abbey, including the beautiful existing remains of that building, of which a large portion had in the period following the Reformation been unfortunately destroyed for the purpose of constructing a royal palace.* Here a new building arose to contain the Society's collections in natural history, whilst excavations carried on at the same time disclosed the foundations of the ancient buildings of the Abbey, and remains of older, and, if possible, of more striking, interest. In all these researches Mr. Wellbeloved took the most active interest. We were ourselves present with him, day by day, when excavations beneath what had long been used as a pig-sty, carried on by the Society under Mr. Wellbeloved's direction and superintendence,

* The Wilberforce School for the Blind occupies the house of the Abbot, with additions made by the Lords President of the Council of the North.

disclosed the most interesting and characteristic fragment which time has spared of Roman Eburacum. For many succeeding years, Mr. Wellbeloved's connection with the Yorkshire museum was a source of high gratification to himself and others. In everything connected with it he was warmly interested. As curator of antiquities, all the interesting and valuable remains which the Society possessed were in his immediate charge. It was interesting to observe how, when any antiquarian discovery was made in York or the neighbourhood (and such are not infrequent there), reference was at once made to Mr. Wellbeloved. His opinion was awaited with interest, and received with a deference which shewed how strong was the confidence entertained in the extent of his knowledge and the sureness of his judgment. One interesting fragment of a Roman monumental inscription, the lost parts of which were conjecturally restored by Mr. Wellbeloved, stands in the antiquarian department of the museum, a remarkable instance of the care and skill with which antiquarian learning was applied to supply deficiencies which seemed irremediable.

MR. WELLBELOVED'S THEOLOGICAL LECTURES.

Sir,

Whilst highly appreciating the truthfulness and accuracy of the sketch of Mr. Wellbeloved's theological course in your last number, and concurring entirely in the tribute there paid to the excellence of the instruction under Mr. Wellbeloved, Mr. Kenrick, and Mr. Turner, it seems to me that in the account given of Mr. Wellbeloved's opening of his course on the Evidences of Religion, the words given convey in some instances rather the student's own impression of the ideas which Mr. Wellbeloved conveyed, than the terms Mr. Wellbeloved himself used. As the words are given in inverted commas, and in the form of an actual address, it is perhaps desirable that what Mr. Wellbeloved said on a subject of so much interest should appear in the pages of the Reformer, as nearly as may be, in the words which he actually used. I therefore send the following for your insertion, in case you think fit, as being, I believe, nearly the words used by Mr. Wellbeloved in the opening of his course on the Evidences in the year that I attended it.

"Though you may feel no doubt as to the existence of a God, and have some general notion of His attributes, His providence, and His moral government; though you may have been taught, by your parents or others, the leading principles of the Jewish and Christian revelations; and though you may have professed your belief that both Moses and Jesus were divinely commis-

sioned, the one as the Lawgiver of the Jews, the other as the Founder of a system which was to embrace all mankind, yet you cannot have given to these subjects all the attention they deserve, so as to enable you to withstand the assaults of atheism and infidelity. It is desirable that all well-educated persons should be prepared to give reason for the faith that is in them as Theists and Christians, and be prepared to instruct those in whose welfare they may be peculiarly concerned; and the greater part of you being designed to be public teachers of religion, it is necessary that you be completely ready to instruct the ignorant, strengthen the wavering, and answer the hostile. The object of these lectures, therefore, is not merely to enable you to instruct yourselves, but to qualify you for being instructors of others. They must be more full than would be necessary for your own personal conviction, and therefore we shall take as wide a view of the subject as our time and other circumstances will allow. I shall endeavour to assist you,

"I. In gaining a comprehensive and accurate knowledge of the religion of nature, or of those truths nature may be supposed to teach respecting God, our duty, and our expectations. The existence of the Deity, and His attributes, are discovered either by means of the works of nature, or by the efforts of the understanding unaided by any appeal to the effects of power, intelligence, and goodness. The latter is neither so pleasing nor satisfactory as the former, and may lead to perplexing and intricate questions, involving much metaphysical inquiry, and not always favourable to exalted conceptions of the Deity; the former is employed in investigations of the most exalted kind, involved in little difficulty, and always suggesting the most ennobling views of the Divine nature and character. Upon these we shall dwell more largely, and to the other we shall advert so far as to give you such a knowledge of what has been thought and said upon this subject as persons in your situation would be expected to possess.

"II. When you have seen what nature, properly studied, teaches concerning God and His relations to His creatures, and their expectation from Him, we shall proceed to inquire what has been discovered or known of those things by mankind in the various circumstances in which they have been placed, without any regard to a divine revelation; how far Paganism, or the notions of the vulgar, corresponded with natural religion. This inquiry must be solved by an investigation of all the ancient idolatrous systems, and of such modern idolatrous systems as are found in nations not instructed by a divine revelation, or by any other than a pretended revelation. This will lead us,

"III. to the examination of the pretensions, first of Judaism, and afterwards of Christianity, to be adopted as systems of divine origin. Here a very wide and interesting field opens before

us. We shall endeavour to collect the arguments advanced in favour of revelation by its friends, and not overlook the objections urged by its opponents against its credit. To read all that has been written on each side of this great question would be impossible in the space of one short session; but a general view of every important controversy will be set before you, and many valuable works recommended for your perusal, and reference to authors upon different inquiries of this nature will be copiously given.

"IV. Then, in the last place, we must inquire into the pretensions of a system which, as it assumes a divine authority and is professed by many millions of mankind to this day, claims some attenion,—I mean Mohammedanism, which is a corruption both of natural and of revealed religion."

I cannot answer for the perfect accuracy of every word of the foregoing, but I believe that, probably, it is very nearly accurate, and, if I am not mistaken, it conveys with substantial fidelity the language used by Mr. Wellbeloved.

In a publication of Mr. Wellbeloved's, now open before me, he says of himself, "I am a lover of truth, and fearless of its consequences." May I be allowed to bear my grateful testimony that never were words more truly used. It was the rare and distinguishing merit of Mr. Wellbeloved, that his love of truth seemed to keep him clear of every influence which might, consciously or unconsciously, have disturbed his judgment. Whilst, on the one hand, no amount of previous authority weighed against his decision; on the other, no conclusion was ever formed without his having carefully ascertained and deliberately weighed every argument which could be found against as well as for it. Quite indifferent to the risk of obloquy, he was equally insensible to the love of novelty or the desire of applause,—or rather these were considerations which appeared with him to have no existence. His clear and calm judgment seemed never excited to push an argument too far, yet never to fail in drawing from it its legitimate conclusion. To the students in his classes, indeed, it was not his habit to state conclusions. That which marked his intercourse with them was the manner in which every argument and every objection were laid before them, and the result left to themselves. I have now spoken rather of the spirit which guided his own investigations, which appeared in his published works, and which enabled him, whenever his opinions were attacked, to shew that there was not an argument on the side of his opponents which he had not well considered and estimated. In looking at the spirit in which Mr. Wellbeloved ever acted, and seeking for other examples of it amongst the men who have instructed and improved mankind, my own thoughts have often turned to the sure and cautious judgment, and the simple love of truth, which guided the theological investigations of Locke

to conclusions not very different from those at which Mr. Well-beloved arrived.

COLLEGII MANCUNIENSIS ALUMNUS.

October 10, 1858.

THE LATE LEWIS LOYD, ESQ., OF OVERSTONE PARK.

SIR,

YOUR Memoir of the late Mr. Lewis Loyd, contributed by J. (pp. 414, 602), has erroneously been attributed to me. My unwillingness to rob the amiable writer of any merits due only to him will, I trust, be a sufficient apology for this disclaimer. As I have this occasion to write, permit me to add a tribute to the memory of one in whom I found so many sterling qualities, so much to respect and admire, that I am accustomed to regard my intercourse with him as one of the rarest privileges of my life. Possessed of a clear and sagacious mind, his conversation abounded in precepts of practical wisdom, which he rendered as entertaining as they were instructive by his humorous anecdotes, of which he had a store. A more hospitable friend, or any one of kinder, more courteous or more cordial manners, I have seldom known.

If Mr. Loyd did not often make donations to charitable objects, it is to be attributed in a great measure to his want of confidence in charities generally. He had a very sincere respect for those habits of industry and self-reliance which seldom fail, in whatever station of life, to lead to prosperity, if not to affluence; whilst the impatience with which he regarded the idle, the thriftless, and those who would gladly live on the industry of others, checked his generosity, no doubt, more than was reasonable. Still, when the object requiring assistance was within his own proper sphere, and his knowledge of it not second-hand, Mr. Loyd could be a very liberal giver. Almost the last time I accompanied him in an afternoon drive, we stopped at and entered a handsome church on his estate, which was being built at his expense.

But it is no detraction from the praise due to the benevolent to say that those unostentatious but sterling virtues from which springs our national wealth, and to which must be attributed the greatness and high character which this country has attained, are far more to be valued than mere generosity; and a proper history of Mr. Loyd would regard him chiefly in his relation to the great commercial world in which he bore so active and distinguished a part during half a century. The principles and habits which won for him the confidence with which he was honoured, and the circumstances which contributed to the splendid success he achieved, would supply matter for a narrative equally interesting and instructive. On the treacherous sea of commerce, whoever guides his bark, laden with the treasures, and perhaps the fortunes, of thousands besides his own, clear of every rock, is worthy of being regarded as a public benefactor. The circumstance of his having commenced life as a theological student only adds to his merit, but is, in other respects, as immaterial to his real life as a similar accident would have been in the life of Sir Robert Peel or the Duke of Wellington.

WALTER D. JEREMY.

Gray's Inn, Oct. 16, 1858.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

The Anniversaries. Poems in Commemoration of Great Men and Great Events. By Thomas H. Gill. Macmillan and Co. 1858.

An age which is marked by the revival of historical studies and the production of a new historical literature, is likely to number among its characteristics the erection of memorial monuments, and the observance and celebration of festivals and birthdays.

And although these retrospective efforts are scarcely congenial with the industrious habits of a community engaged in the absorbing pursuits and enterprizes of commerce and of science, many instances of the characteristics we have alluded to will be remembered as soon as the fact is pointed out. The title of the book at the head of this notice will not fail to remind our readers of "The Christian Year;" a work which has gone through more editions and been more widely accepted than any other book of modern poetry. Produced at the religious revival of the so-called Anglican Church, it combined the retrospective historical spirit, directed of course to sacred subjects, with a large measure of the devotional element and no small amount of the best features of modern poetry. But it is rather as a hand-book of devotion, to be ranked with Thomas à Kempis or George Herbert's Temple, that the Christian Year has found such a wide acceptance; or at least it is in this character that it holds a place in the Church whereof it is perhaps the most vital production; while in general literature it may be regarded as one of the happiest emanations from the meditative and nature-observing school of Wordsworth.

Contrasting widely with the Christian Year, is a more recent book of poems, in which the historical feature is very remarkable. Mr. Browning's "Men and Women" comprises delineations of almost every historical period; and to enjoy these it is quite worth while, as well as necessary, to study and unravel the obscure and involved jargon with which many of the poems are disfigured. Browning is perhaps strongest in his pictures of the middle ages; but the Roman Epicurean, the Arab and the Jew, are drawn with a wonderful combination of picturesqueness and dramatic propriety. With these slight references to Keble and Browning, whose works we notice merely for the purposes of comparison, we turn to Mr. Gill's new volume; and our first observation is, that the spirit of civil and religious liberty which animates many of the poems in this book would recommend it to our notice, were its literary merits less than they really are. This volume, unlike the Christian Year, devoted as much to political as sacred themes, presents to us the fruits of a meditative and religious mind, gifted with much power and an enthusiastic temperament: but the prevalence of eloquence and fervour over that quality which we exclusively recognize as poetry, forbids us to ascribe to the author the possession in its highest degree of the function of Imagination. It will be found that the historical events and personages forming the subjects of the best poems in the book, are not set forth in any original or striking light, nor made vivid to our conception by any extraordinary power of the author to conceive and

describe them; nor are they, on the other hand, subordinated either to a devotional purpose, or to the author's descriptions of and associations with nature. In thus stating what Mr. Gill's poems are not, we intend them no disparagement, but only seek to draw a comparison with the two books before referred to—Browning's "Men and Women," and Keble's "Christian Year"—the former being an instance of the exercise of the higher function of the imagination, re-creating persons and events; the latter, an instance of a lower function investing its subjects with an interest mainly derived from the author's personal experiences and emotions, or his sympathy with the phenomena of nature. In attempting to state what are the qualities of Mr. Gill's poems, we would say that he has selected his subjects in accordance with his well-chosen motto from Milton's "Reason of Church Government urged against Prelaty," —"to imbreed and cherish the seeds of virtue and public civility;" that he has traversed the wide field of history, from the Christian era to the present time, with noble sympathies and fine discrimination; and that he has sought to commemorate his "great men and great events" out of a deep feeling of reverence for his subjects, and still deeper gratitude to God, by whose providence they have been called and directed.

As to the poetical qualities of the volume, if the creative faculty is not called into exercise, we have a rich fancy and a lofty and fervid style, forming together an original diction, and exercised on a pleasing variety of metres, all more or less of a lyrical character. About one-fourth of the book is devoted to names and events connected with the history of English liberty; one-fourth to apostles, saints, and church festivals; and the remainder is devoted to other than English historical themes, and to seasons of nature. The best poems are found in the first of these classes: their prominent characteristics are Patriotism and Protestantism, and they commemorate chiefly the events and names dear to the history of English liberty in its religious aspects. The men of the Commonwealth occupy therefore no inconsiderable position; but we incline to place in the foremost rank "The Good old Cause," p. 162, which is devoted to the 7th of December, the anniversary of Algernon Sidney's death in 1683. It is prefaced with an extract from the paper delivered by Sidney to the sheriff, and containing a prayer "for that old cause in which I was from my youth engaged, and for which Thou hast often and wonderfully declared Thyself." This poem is in the metre and possesses no little of the vigour of the old English ballad, as the following verses testify:

"O! ne'er on waiting souls hath ceased the Fire Divine to drop;
Still, still have mighty men stepped forth to take Heaven's burden up.
The Lord hath willed His work below, should linger not nor pause:
O! faithful hearts, O! valiant hands, ne'er failed the Good Old Cause.

O! England, sing thy glorious song! with solemn joy rejoice!
Of English hearts, of English hands, the Lord made chiefest choice;
He armed it with thy liberty, He fenced it with thy laws,
He took thee for its sword and shield, that glorious Good Old Cause.

The Good Old Cause! in English souls the thought sublime first woke;
The Good Old Cause! from English lips, the glorious sound first broke;
To spend on it their valiancy upsprang thy men of might;
To lay their lustre at its feet beamed forth thy sons of light.

It gathered strength as fell the stroke that rent the Papal chain,
Its helpers true those wrathful blasts that smote the ships of Spain:
In vain abroad would foeman strike, at home would traitor sting;
It marched sublime o'er vanquished priest, o'er shaméd smitten king.

It blazed in Milton's burning page, from Oliver's bright sword,
It armed those righters of the realm, those Seekers of the Lord:
God and the Cause! on Marston Moor uprose the conquering cry;
God and the Cause! o'er Naseby field it rang victoriously.

Full well they prayed, full well they fought, those warrior saints sublime,
And looked exulting for their Lord through the strange, awful time.
His cause was won! His work was done! come was his glorious day!
His Englishmen should greet him first! His saints should bear the sway!

Too soon, too soon, this brightness due to latest time they asked;
Their England in too stern a guise her glorious children tasked.
Cold waxed that glowing heart of hers, that mighty hand grew slack,
And heedless of the Good Old Cause, she brought the Stuarts back.

Ah! traitors shaméd the proud land where heroes ruled of late,
And when the saints held solemn cheer, there harlots kept foul state:
But still in faithful English hearts the fire undying glowed,
And mighty yet, the Good Old Cause its martyr army showed.

'Midst dungeon gloom, on scaffolds grim, its solemn light beamed on:
O Vane unmoved! O Russell true! O steadfast Algernon!
Full pealed its cheerful trumpet blast as dying Sidney prayed
The prayer divine that maketh still God's people strong and glad.

O noble blood that helpéd Earth! strong words that Heaven did hear!
For England and the Good Old Cause the Lord would still appear:
He stirréd up great William's strength, the race accursed cast forth,
And glorified before the world this Island of the North.

Not vainly wrought she for the Cause, God's glory and her own;
She graved it in her Statute Book, she set it on her throne:
The land that best had served the Cause, its sacred banner bore,
And high uprose her shining front the nations all before.

O! sometimes with majestic port she bore that banner high—
Ah! sometimes in her slackened grasp it drooped ingloriously;
And others than tried Englishmen would fain that standard raise,
And put her glorious garments on, and take away her praise.

Ah shaméd splendour of those robes so vainly, vilely worn!
Ah banner their weak hands let fall, all stainéd and all torn!
The unwonted brightness blinded them, the unwonted burden tired;
Still English hearts, still English hands, the Good Old Cause required.

They love it still! they guard it now! it smileth its best smile,
It keepeth still its ancient home, here in the imperial Isle.
O England! hold thy freedom fast, cleave close unto thy laws,
Nor stain the sword, nor drop the shield that guard the Good Old Cause!"

Cromwell's Birthday, St. George's Day, or England's Hymn and England's Treasure, are spirited poems of the same class as the above, and may be properly remembered and recited in their order in the year.

The Ode which commemorates Shakspeare and the 23rd of April is in a very noble strain, and of a poetic character not unworthy of the theme. The air and scenes of Stratford and the Avon impart their influences to the poem.

After apostrophising his country,

> "O! o'er this potentate without a peer
> Thine own parental extacy prolong;
> List to those oracles this sovereign Seer
> Has made the eternal treasure of thy tongue,"—

the poet exclaims, in a strain of which the following stanza is a fair specimen:

> "What piercing gaze may e'er explore
> Those awful deeps he layeth bare?
> What feet can wander weary o'er
> Those golden realms he spreadeth fair?
> What heart has of this sovereign seer inquired,
> And found one wondrous oracle untrue?
> What soul has from this presence bright retired,
> Nor borne away some splendour glad and new?
> O ringing sweetness of those master-spells!
> O melody of those deep oracles!
> O floods of balmy air! O depths of glowing blue!"

Among the pieces of a meditative or religious character, we refer with satisfaction to the first poem, "New Year's Day," to the "St. John," to "Easter Day," and "Wesley;" and some of these contain many of the good qualities of the Hymns previously published by Mr. Gill. We are, however, bound to confess that the alliance between Mr. Gill's muse and the doctrines of orthodoxy does not tend to raise either in our esteem. We could not be expected to accept the piece called "Good Friday" for either poetry or theology; and it would be a useless as well as painful task to expose its breaches of taste. We must further state our regret that our author should have cultivated and transferred to his own writings the style of some of the worst religious poetry of the seventeenth century, whence, as we conceive, he has derived the ejaculations and iterations which mar many of his better poems. This "trick" of ejaculation, for so we must name so frequent a defect, is compelled to do service in lieu of meditation, description, and even of narrative; and it constantly harasses the reader where it is intended to excite his admiration or to aid his devotions. Add to this the recurrence and over-use of certain words and phrases (a cursory reading will easily discover them), and we have pointed out the amendable faults of a series of poems which we should like to see both improved and extended. There is no limit to such a series within the bounds of grateful memories and human sympathy; and it is also a field wherein many labourers might work together.

To bring our notice to a close. At a time when we need to be reminded of our political rights and our social duties, such a volume as the Anniversaries ought to be welcomed for its pure patriotism and its national tone. Our state and its present civilization have been founded on the conscientious use we have made of our religious freedom and the responsible enjoyment of our civil liberties, and whatever encourages these should be cherished as a breath of the same spirit which animated the champions of the Good Old Cause.

INTELLIGENCE.

BOLTON DISTRICT UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION.

The sixty-fifth half-yearly meeting was held at Rivington on the 23rd of September. Rev. James Bayley, of Park Lane, conducted the devotional services. Rev. John Wright preached a useful and excellent discourse from Gal. vi. 5, of which the following is an outline:

"Individual effort is the root of all strength of character, and the want of it keeps society in a state of moral childhood. Unitarians are distinguished from all other Christians by insisting on this, and by urging that every man must bear his own burden and work out his own salvation. The Roman Catholic Church goes to the other extreme, and teaches that for learning the truth, doing right and gaining acceptance with God, we are entirely dependent on Church, Priest and Mediation. To be consistent, we must embrace one view or the other, and carry it out without shrinking. The Catholic view is contradicted, 1, by the common usages of life, when we tell men to try to get what they want, to deserve success, to earn rewards, when we praise or blame; 2, by Scripture, which speaks to men as though capable of influencing their own fate, and its exhortations are a bitter mockery if men can do nothing for themselves; 3, by experience: in every country, in proportion to the prevalence of the Roman Catholic system, the people are ignorant, degraded, enslaved and vicious.

"But Unitarians are equally far removed from the sceptic and the secularist; for we teach that man may be helped in his efforts by the Spirit of God, by the influence of Christ, by the ordinances of religion. The issue is between the Atheist, the Unitarian and the Roman Catholic. To this division all religious differences must at last come. It is therefore our duty to know our position, the grounds and benefits of it, and to explain and recommend our views to others."

The attendance was considerable from distant as well as nearer parts of the district, notwithstanding the unfavourable state of the weather. At the evening meeting after tea, at which Rev. J. S. Gilbert presided, the speeches were practical and spiritual, especially calculated to awaken zeal and stimulate individual effort. The life and interest manifested on these occasions may be taken as an index of the spirit prevalent among Unitarians in this district, and certainly indicate no decline or tendency to it. The only congregation in this Association now without a minister is at Rochdale, and this vacancy will, it is hoped, be filled up without much further delay. The Rev. Abraham Lunn, late of Dob Lane, near Manchester, has succeeded Rev. J. Bayley at Chorley.

It was announced by the Secretary that the next meeting of the Association will take place at Bolton on the last Thursday in April in the ensuing spring, the preacher on which occasion will be Mr. Lunn—supporter, Mr. Wright.

F. B.

NEWBURY.

Sunday, October 10th, was devoted to a special service at the Presbyterian chapel, Newbury, to commemorate the successful termination of the long struggle in which the congregation has been engaged on behalf of its religious rights. In the morning, the Rev. E. Kell delivered a discourse on the right and duty of private judgment in matters of religion, and on the sufficiency of the Scriptures as the standard of faith, from Gal. v. 1; and in the evening, the Rev. Hugh Hutton followed up the same course of thought by enforcing, from John vi. 66—69, that "Christ is our only Master in religion." The accompanying extract from the morning discourse will, we trust, enable our readers to understand the nature of the persecution to which the congregation has been exposed, and their consequent rejoicing in their deliverance from it, and will, we trust, stimulate the friends of religious liberty to aid the congregation to liquidate the debt incurred in its arduous contest for its religious rights.

"My brethren, it was upon the principle advocated in this discourse of the right and duty of private judgment in matters of doctrine, upon the rejection of all human tests, and the sufficiency of the Scriptures as the rule of faith, that this Presbyterian chapel was founded. The Rev. William Taylor, one of the ejected ministers, with his flock, here unfurled, in 1697, the standard of Free Inquiry on religious subjects, which has floated unchallenged over these walls until the late attempt to force a creed upon the congregation. Pastor after pastor through a long succession of years—a Peirce (a name ever cherished in our churches), a Standen, a Mace, a Blackburn, a James—not to mention pastors

of more recent date, here exercised their ministry unshackled by any creed, save that which their own hearts framed after a diligent perusal of the Word of God. True it is that, in 1823, the Rev. J. Kitcat, an over-zealous and somewhat dogmatic Arian, contrived to insert in the chapel book a resolution, that the congregation rejected on the one hand the doctrines of Trinitarianism and Calvinism, and on the other those of Humanitarianism, and practised the rites of Infant Baptism and the Lord's Supper; but such resolution was only signed by seven persons out of a then comparatively large congregation. And even the minister's—Mr. Kitcat's—own name (as though on after-thought he felt ashamed of the proceeding) was never actually appended. It is well known that this incipient attempt at creed-making ended in his case in his conformity to the Church of England. If such declaration of faith had been signed by a *larger* number, still would it not have affected the possession of the chapel, which was dedicated at its origin simply and solely 'to the worship of God through Jesus Christ.' Nor could it rightly touch the disposition of the chapel endowments, which were left unfettered by the language of human creeds, no single bequest being clogged with any condition of doctrinal belief. The endowment, amounting to nearly £45 a-year, was invariably paid by the Trustees to the minister until 1856, when, on the death (within two years) of four Trustees, regular attendants at the chapel, the three remaining Trustees, who had become Churchmen, turned round on their former fellow-worshipers and refused to fill in other Trustees nominated by the congregation, or to pay the accustomed endowments to the minister. They most unjustifiably placed the affairs of the chapel and its endowments in the hands of the Charity Commissioners, alleging as their reason that the congregation had departed from the opinions held by the donors. The Charity Commissioners refused to give any opinion on the matter, and the Trustees to confirm their position filed a bill in the Court of Chancery. So obvious was it, however, that there was no ground for interference with the usages of the congregation, no single case having occurred, even since the alleged resolution of 1823, in which any doctrinal test had been required from the minister, that the Attorney-General at once called for the names of nine Trustees on the part of the congregation, that he might obtain an order for their legal appointment. Here the old Trustees again interposed and objected to the appointment of their successors, unless they and their minister would subscribe on oath an Arian creed. This thraldom the congregation by unanimous resolution indignantly rejected, as contrary to all their principles of religious freedom handed down to them by their forefathers. After that time the congregation had to battle with sundry vexatious expedients to obstruct the settlement of the case, until, in March last, a decree was obtained from the Master of the Rolls, discharging the three old Trustees and ordering that the endowment should be invested in the names of the official Trustees of Charitable Trusts. By them the dividends are to be transmitted from time to time to Trustees nominated by the congregation and appointed by the Court. Nine persons were forthwith nominated by the congregation, and, with an affidavit as to their character and fitness by a magistrate of the town and the Rev. Richard Shelley, the Court was satisfied, and made an order for their legal appointment on the 10th of May last, *without any inquiry as to theological opinions.*

"Thus after having been put into possession of all the facts of the case, the Chancery tribunal has virtually declared *the Trusts to be open Trusts*, and that *no tests* ought to be imposed upon those benefitted by them. The long delay between the appointment of Trustees and the transfer which took place at the end of August, arose from the difficulty in getting the bills of costs taxed, owing to the press of business. The costs when taxed amounted to upwards of £250; the Attorney-General's fees alone being £136, and the bill of Mr. Talbot (solicitor to our opponent) £112. The bill of Mr. Field (our solicitor) will be additional to these, though, no doubt, he will make it as light as possible; there are also Mr. Shelley's unavoidable expenses. The state of the case now is, that the nine Trustees have nominated two of their number to receive the dividends as they become due. The amount raised by the public for the liquidation of the costs is about £150, leaving probably nearly as much more to be raised to relieve the congregation entirely from debt. To you, my brethren, I need not speak of the indefatigable zeal and ability with which your esteemed minister Mr. Shelley has laboured throughout the whole of these transactions, to bring them to the consummation in which we so heartily rejoice.

"The cruel waste of money, and the hardship thereby inflicted on this congregation by this thoroughly needless litigation, is deeply to be deplored. How any persons in any degree acquainted with the

history of English Presbyterian dissent, could for a moment have imagined that they should succeed in overturning the very principles on which this congregation was founded—in drinking, as it were, its life-blood—is to me unaccountable! A more shallow pretence, a more flimsy case, never came before a court of law. It was a case which, had it succeeded, would have set all the pettifogging lawyers in the kingdom to work mischief in the Trust-deeds of all our chapels, and would have delivered over the helpless and the unbefriended to the hands of the spoiler,—giving offence to the sanctities of religion, and a blow to all the charities of life.

"Brethren, though the upright decision of the Court of Chancery has frustrated the unrighteous machinations against us, it could not remove from us the penalty of others' ignorance or malice—the necessity of raising the money to defray the expenses of the defence of our rights. But I feel confident that the appeal for funds for this object will not be in vain. The British public, ever alive to the claims of justice, and the zealous worshipers in this house of prayer, will not suffer this money to be drained from the salary of the minister—which now only suffices to support the proprieties of his position. Rather will you step forward with open purse, and deny yourselves even some of your accustomed comforts, than suffer the burden of the contest for your rights to rest upon him. It is well to rebuke cupidity and intolerance, by shewing that there is in this country a love of fair-play which will not suffer a small congregation to be trampled on by those who may think that they have worldly power to lord it over them. A pure desire to promote the highest interests of Christianity—the love of God and the love of Christ, will surely induce the richer brother to stretch out his hand, and enable a faithful and respected body of Christians to continue to preach 'the glad tidings' of the gospel.

"That great statesman, Sir Robert Peel, when he took so active and disinterested a part in promoting the enactment of the Dissenters' Chapels Bill, the object of which was to put an end to all such cases of litigation among Dissenters on the ground of religious faith, knew the value of a congregation like that before me in promoting the good of the body politic. He knew, from his personal experience in his own town of Tamworth, the general intelligence, probity, worth and public spirit of the Dissenting minister filling an English Presbyterian pulpit, and he resolved to protect him and his congregation. Let me appeal to you, my brethren of the Establishment, if any such be present, whether in the past history of your town you could have spared the services of the Presbyterian minister without serious detriment. To come to your own personal recollections—know you of any minister in this town who more contributed to its welfare and elevation, than one who was long pastor of this flock, my own highly-esteemed friend, the Rev. William Wilson, whose voice has so often resounded within these walls, and who 'being dead yet speaketh' in the religious impressions he left behind, and in those liberal institutions he originated or assisted in originating? Is not his name identified with your Literary and Scientific Institution, your Mutual Improvement Society, with your Early-closing Association, your public Cemetery, your Railway, and other local philanthropic undertakings? Was he not followed to his grave by members of the Church of England and of other denominations, as well as by his own flock, amid the tears of many of his fellow-townsmen? And would you have been content to see the place of worship—'the unpretending little chapel,' as Sir Robert Peel in his eloquent speech called such houses of prayer—in which the Rev. W. Wilson ministered, wrested out of the hands of those who took sweet counsel with him, and walked with him to the house of God in company—wrested out of their hands by individuals who are incapable of appreciating the high and noble principles of religious liberty which actuated him, and which have come down to this people as a precious heirloom? Would you willingly have withdrawn such a centre of social usefulness from among you, and have extinguished such a light irradiating all the institutions of your town? I am sure you would not. I feel confident that there are many who differ very widely from the religious tenets of the worshipers in this tabernacle, who will, with true-hearted liberality, contribute their mite to preserve in their midst a church hallowed by so many precious associations of the past—a church which has maintained the cause of liberty, civil and religious, in the worst of times—and whose ministers and people are bound, by their own emancipation from the yoke of bondage, to uphold those principles which have rendered England the loved land of liberty—the asylum of the free!

"Brethren, we have obtained a righteous victory. Let us now exert ourselves to wipe away the debt. And then let us willingly drop the veil of oblivion over the errors and struggles of the past. Let us forgive, and endeavour to forget, the injus-

tice and the persecutions we have suffered, and copy his bright example, who 'when he was reviled, reviled not again,' who commanded us to 'love our enemies,' to forgive even until seventy times seven the sins against us, and to pray for those who despitefully use us. Yes! let us pray God to forgive them, as we hope to be forgiven. Give liberally, my friends, of that store with which God has prospered you; for never—never did a nobler object of philanthropy appeal to piety, sympathy, justice, freedom, to the love of God and the love of man, to the heart of generosity."

SOUTHERN UNITARIAN SOCIETY.

The fifty-seventh anniversary of this Society was held on the 29th of September, in the ancient town of Poole. As usual, the meeting was made the occasion for a friendly gathering of Unitarian ministers and members of their congregations in the South of England. The arrangements were excellently made by Rev. M. Rowntree, the minister of Poole, and the members of his little flock discharged with more then usual kindness the duties of hospitality. There were present ministers and lay friends from Portsmouth, Southampton, Wareham, Dorchester, Ringwood, &c. The sermons were preached to deeply-attentive congregations (that in the evening being the largest seen in the place for twenty years) by Rev. R. Brook Aspland, who also conducted the devotional services. At the close of the morning service, the Rev. M. Rowntree took the chair for the business meeting, and Rev. Edmund Kell, the Secretary of the Society, read the report of the Committee, of which the following is an extract:

"The benefits of our Society are to be sought in the consistent lives of individuals who have found strength and comfort from its publications, or in the general healthy state of our congregations, or may be surmised from the loss which we should experience were the salutary influence of such an instrumentality withdrawn from our midst. The books and tracts circulated by this Society are such as must foster piety and virtue, help to elucidate the meaning of sacred Scripture, and to keep alive an attachment to the pure light of truth—'the faith once delivered to the saints.' Your Committee would earnestly petition that a larger number from among our congregations would, by enrolling themselves as members of the Society, avail themselves of its advantages. Without pecuniary aid arising from many and liberal subscriptions, no very extended catalogue, no very large exertions, can be undertaken, without incurring a pecuniary risk inconsistent with the prudent and efficacious working of the Institution. Your Committee, with additional pecuniary assistance, would spare no effort to increase the efficiency of your Society.

"It has been customary in our reports to glance at some of the events which may have transpired in the year touching our religious interests. The Committee have much reason to congratulate the Society, which has ofttimes evinced its interest in behalf of the Jews, on the passing an Act during the present session, which, however objectionable in form, admits the eligibility of members of the Jewish persuasion to a seat in the House of Commons. Twelve times had the desirableness of this relief been affirmed by majorities in one branch of the Legislature, and as often had been rejected by the other. This ultimate triumph of reason and justice is an encouragement to proceed in the dissemination of truth and the promotion of the great principles of civil and religious liberty. Your Society has from an early period of this struggle exerted itself on behalf of their brethren of the house of Israel, by almost annually sending up petitions to the Legislature on their behalf, and by inserting articles in the local press in furtherance of their claims. Your Committee would recommend some resolution expressive of gratitude for the success which has attended the labours of the friends of religious liberty on this point should be passed by this meeting.

"The prospect of the abolition of Church-rates, in which your Society has ever felt a deep interest, has been advanced during the past session, a larger relative number of votes having been recorded against them than on any previous occasion. It cannot be doubted but that, by a judicious and persevering continuance of this agitation, this most unjust impost will ere long be consigned to the 'tomb of the Capulets,' with every remaining vestige in this country of religious intolerance and persecution."

The report, after alluding to the successful termination of the struggle of the Newbury congregation to maintain its rights and liberties, continued:

"Our communion at large has this year sustained a severe loss. A great and good man, at the advanced age of ninety, whose 'name is in all our churches,' has lately departed from among us, full of learning, piety and good fruits, 'having adorned the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things.' For nearly forty years, the Rev. Charles Wellbeloved was the highly-respected Theological Tutor in the Manches-

ter College, York, training many who have been successful members in our churches, some of whom have long been settled in this district."

The report concluded with gratulations to the minister and congregation at Poole for the spirit they had manifested in renovating their place of worship.

Mr. John Brown then moved, and Mr. Freeland Filliter seconded, that the report be adopted.

Mr. Kelly moved, and Dr. Watson seconded, cordial thanks to the Rev. R. B. Aspland for his eloquent discourse.

The Rev. H. Hawkes moved, and Mr. Hamilton seconded, "That this Society, regarding liberty of conscience as the native right of every child of God, and of first importance to the healthy growth and advancement of the true spirit of worship as revealed through Jesus Christ, most gratefully rejoice that the British Legislature, by declaring Jews no longer ineligible by the fact of their religious persuasion to take their place in the Commons House of Parliament, have virtually decided that henceforth variety of religious opinion shall constitute no barrier to the eligibility of British subjects to the most influential civil functions of the State."

Rev. E. Kell moved, and Rev. H. E. Howse seconded, "That this meeting sincerely desires to record its high estimation of the fervent piety, Christian benevolence and profound veneration of the Rev. Charles Wellbeloved—to express its deep sense of the great and important services which he rendered to the cause of Christ in training up a succession of useful ministers in our churches, and to tender to the members of his family its heartfelt condolence under their bereavement."

Mr. Balston moved, and Rev. M. Davidson seconded, "That this meeting has heard with much gratification that the Newbury Presbyterian congregation, firmly adhering to the great principles on which it was founded, of the right and duty of private judgment, have succeeded in defeating the attempt of the late Trustees to deprive them of their chapel endowment, and tender to their Christian brethren at Newbury their best wishes that liberal assistance may be afforded them by the Unitarian public to enable them to defray the needful expenses which have been requisite to establish their rights."

Thanks having been presented to the Secretary and Committee, on the motion of the Rev. Maxwell Davidson, seconded by Mr. Bishop, a vote of thanks was moved by the Rev. H. Hawkes, and seconded by Rev. R. B. Aspland, to their Chairman, by whose zealous efforts, seconded by his congregation, the venerable place of worship in which they had assembled had been renovated and improved during the last year. The resolution was passed by the company standing.

Between the services, about forty members and friends of the Society dined together at the London Tavern, Dr. Watson, of Southampton, in the chair, when the assembly was addressed by the gentlemen above mentioned on important topics connected with the interests of the Society and the progress of Christian liberty, truth and righteousness.

E. K.

TESTIMONIAL TO REV. H. V. PALMER AT YORK.

The close of Mr. Palmer's engagement at York, as assistant minister to the late Rev. Charles Wellbeloved (who is succeeded by Rev. G. V. Smith) led to a warm expression of esteem and affection on the part of the congregation. In the course of the week following Sunday, Sept. 25, when Mr. Palmer conducted his farewell services in St. Saviourgate chapel, a social meeting of the congregation was held, of which a brief report will be interesting to many of our readers. On taking the chair, Rev. John Kenrick said, that the duty to which the meeting had called him would have been fulfilled by him with unmixed pleasure, had the only purpose of their assembling been to present Mr. Palmer with this testimonial of the zeal, kindness and efficiency with which he had discharged the duty of assistant minister among them during the last twelve years. But it was seldom in human life that unmixed pleasure was to be enjoyed, and in the present case they could not but feel the sadness which attended the taking leave of a friend. The relations between Mr. Wellbeloved and Mr. Palmer had always been of the most pleasing and satisfactory kind. Mr. Wellbeloved had joined heartily in the testimonial before them, and only his death had prevented his signature appearing among those of the subscribers to it. It was indeed a solemn lesson on the uncertainty of human life which its history suggested. Its presentation at the time originally intended had been prevented by the dispersion of the congregation which was general at that season of the year; and when a somewhat later time had been fixed, that event occurred which had filled all their minds with sorrow, and prevented every thought of a festive character. And within a few days, another of the subscribers, not in extreme old age like Mr. Wellbeloved, but in the

prime of life, had been lost to them, and the place of his signature also remained a blank in the roll. Referring to himself, Mr. Kenrick said, that during a considerable part of Mr. Palmer's ministry they had in a certain sense been colleagues, having frequently divided the morning service between them, and that their intercourse in this connection had always been of the most cordial and friendly nature. He concluded by calling on Mr. Walker, who had undertaken to present the testimonial on the part of the subscribers.

Mr. WALKER, after reading the resolution of a previous meeting of the congregation, to the effect that a testimonial should be presented to Mr. Palmer, expressed his regret that the duty of presenting the testimonial had been allotted to him. Then addressing Mr. Palmer, he said—Rev. Sir, this token of our esteem is offered to you for two reasons: first, to remind you of this congregation when you are separated from us; and although we have many faults to confess, and have not improved according to our opportunities or the ardent wishes of yourself and those who have been placed over us, yet we trust that unkind or ungenerous treatment to you, Sir, will not be amongst the faults to be laid to our charge. But, Rev. Sir, our chief motive and intention on this occasion is, to express our high estimation of the integrity and zeal which have ever characterized your discharge of your ministerial duties, and of the efforts you have made for the religious instruction of the younger members of this congregation. And I would here particularly mention the establishment of the ladies' sewing meeting, a society which has done so much to promote kindly and social intercourse amongst the members of this congregation. I am sure the ladies of that society will gladly endorse this expression of our approval of the manner in which these meetings have been conducted, and we trust it will long continue its course of usefulness, and be a lasting memorial to you, Sir, as its founder. I hold in my hand a Purse of gold; and in placing it in your hands, Sir, we feel sure it will be faithfully and properly used by you. The more enduring object, the Time-piece, we hope will long continue with you, and will occasionally remind you of this meeting. As years roll on, its machinery will decay; but it can be renewed and passed down to a long line of your posterity, possibly suggesting to some of them that integrity and truth are the brightest ornaments of life. But as these years roll on, other objects will also fall into decay; the hearts that now beat around you will cease, and like this Time-piece require renewal, and that renewal, I trust, will be in another and a better world, where decay shall have no place, and where, however we may be parted here, *there* we hope happily to meet again. In the name of the congregation, whose feeble representative I am on this occasion, I beg your acceptance of the gift. Its value is not very great; but I know, Sir, you will esteem it not so much for its intrinsic value as for the circumstances and feelings which made it yours.—I am desired to say, that wherever you may be hereafter placed, the kindest feelings of this congregation will follow you. They wish health and happiness to you, Mrs. Palmer and your family, and earnestly desire that every good this world can give may be yours and theirs.

Mr. Walker then handed to Mr. Palmer the Purse and Time-piece, saying, "May every blessing attend you!"

Mr. PALMER said that, speaking as he did for the last time as their minister, after a connection of twelve years, it would be readily believed that he did so with mingled feelings. His connection with Mr. Wellbeloved had been such, that he should always look back to it with the utmost gratitude and pleasure. With that excellent man he had certainly spent some of his happiest hours in York, and nothing could exceed the kindness with which Mr. Wellbeloved had always been ready to afford him assistance in those difficulties which more or less fall to the lot of every young minister. It was a source of extreme gratification to receive from the Chairman such expressions of regard as he had just uttered. He desired most cordially to thank Mr. Kenrick, not only for what he had said on that occasion, but for his uniform consideration and kindness during the whole period of their connection. He sincerely thanked all the members of the congregation, more especially for their good wishes, and for the very handsome tokens of their esteem which he then received. He fervently desired they might mutually remember one another with kindly feelings, and earnestly hoped that God would bless them all.

OBITUARY.

Sept. 27, at Taunton, aged 64, MARIA, the wife of Sir John BOWRING, H. M. Plenipotentiary in China. She died in the full assurance of our blessed faith; and has left behind her, in the hearts of a loving circle of friends, memories which will never die, and hopes which look forward to a happy re-union in our Heavenly Father's kingdom. H. H. P.

September 28, aged 75, at Beeston, Notts, ELIZABETH WAKEFIELD, widow of Francis Wakefield, Esq., of Mansfield, and youngest daughter of the Rev. Gilbert Wakefield, B.A., formerly Tutor of Hackney College.

The companion of her parents at Dorchester during her father's harsh imprisonment in the Castle, she was early impressed with the value of those principles which actuated their conduct, and she found them her guide, comfort and support in the trials of youth, amidst the blessings which were richly strewed along her path of married life, and under the sorrows which clouded her advancing years. During the thirty years of their residence at Mansfield, she and her excellent husband were respected and beloved for the consistency with which they maintained their religious convictions, for their social virtues, and for the benevolent services they delighted to render to their work-people and poorer neighbours.

To those who knew her intimately, she was endeared by the quiet cheerfulness of her manners, the steadiness of her friendships, her affectionate heart, and the simplicity and truthfulness of her character. She patiently bore the severe illness which terminated her existence, and her surviving friends, who with her family mourn her loss, will never forget the many years of familiar intercourse with her, enjoyed from her earliest youth to the ripe season of her departure to a better life.

Sept. 28, at his residence, Burrow Hall, near Kirkby Lonsdale, aged 68, SAMUEL ALCOCK, Esq., formerly of Manchester. He was son to a respectable tradesman of that town, and cousin to the late Rev. Richard Astley, of Shrewsbury, his maternal uncle being the Rev. Thomas Astley, of Congleton, Preston and Chesterfield, and his grandfather the Rev. Ralph Astley, of Whitehaven, who was related by marriage to the old Lancashire families of Whalley, Chorley and Leland.

Mr. Alcock was engaged for many years, in partnership with his elder brother, the late John Alcock, Esq., of Gatley, in a branch of the Manchester manufacturing trade; and his industry, prudence and economy received their appropriate reward, though his sober judgment and unbending rectitude of principle precluded him from resorting to those questionable expedients and dashing ventures by which colossal fortunes are sometimes won or lost. He married the youngest sister of the late Rev. J. G. Robberds, of Cross-Street chapel, and was a constant and attached member of the congregation (filling for many years the office of Chapel-Warden or Treasurer) and a never-failing friend of its connected schools and charities. He made no pretension to showy qualities, and his naturally retiring disposition rendered him averse to any kind of publicity; but those who knew him best, appreciated most highly his sound and cautious judgment, his strict conscientiousness and unswerving integrity, his thoughtful and delicate kindness, his tenderness of feeling, and his calm, cheerful gratitude to the Giver of all good. Of no one could it more emphatically be said that the slightest divergence from what he felt to be right was simply inconceivable; and on no one could more implicit reliance be placed, whether as a man of business or as a friend. He was a liberal supporter of the useful and benevolent institutions of his native town, more especially the Infirmary and the Southport Sea-bathing Charity; and was ever ready to give generous help to any object that approved itself to his mind in connection with the religious body to which he was attached by hereditary association and conscientious conviction. He was not one to be easily led away by prevalent enthusiasm for new projects or doctrines, however brilliant or specious, but tried them by the tests of his matured experience, and, if he found them wanting, acted steadily on the conviction that "the old was better." He was one of that invaluable class of Englishmen who form the needful *ballast* of the community, securing it from drifting too lightly on an unknown course, or being upset by the stormy breath of popular commotion. Many individuals have reason to remember him with grateful affection as their judicious adviser and steadfast friend in seasons of inexperience or embarrassment; and all who knew him, whether in a public or in a private capacity, will bear willing and warm testimony to his solid worth. He was selected by the late John Owens, Esq., the munificent founder of the Owens College in Manchester, to be

the executor of his will, and it is needless to say how thoroughly and efficiently he discharged the important and arduous trust committed to him. On retiring from business some years ago, considerations of health compelled him to reside in the country; but he never ceased, so long as nature permitted, to take a generous interest in the institutions which he had always supported. Latterly he was seized with a paralytic affection, the progress of which reduced him to a state of helpless weakness from which it was his prayer to be released, if the will of God were so. His removal, however, leads those to whom he was bound by the tender ties of kindred and affection, vividly and regretfully to recall his genuine virtues, his kindly spirit, and his useful and blameless life.

Sept. 28, at Crewkerne, after a long and painful illness, Rev. Joseph Eedes Fletcher, aged 49 years.

Oct 1, Mr. Charles Steer, of Stoke Newington, in the 35th year of his age.

Oct. 5, at Stalybridge, aged 52, Mr. George Harrop.

Mr. Harrop was an example of self-education under unfavourable circumstances. He was born at Dukinfield in 1805, and at the age of fourteen was apprenticed to his father to learn the trade of felt-hat-making. In 1828 and 1829, this trade began to decline, and Mr. Harrop was compelled soon after the close of his apprenticeship to look out for some other employment. In a short time he obtained a place at a cotton-mill in Stalybridge; but the occupation to which he was put was of too menial a character to accord with his manly self-respect, and he left it in disgust.

His laborious occupation during his apprenticeship left him little time for study, yet that little was diligently employed in learning the higher branches of mathematics, such as algebra, geometry, &c.; he also acquired considerable aptitude in drawing, and he taught himself French, so as to be able to read that language in after years; while many poetical effusions of his opening manhood bear witness to his successful cultivation of his native tongue.

After leaving the cotton-mill, he decided to begin school-keeping as a means of obtaining a livelihood. He accordingly opened a school for boys in Stalybridge, but soon after removed it to Dukinfield, where he stayed up to 1840, when through the kind recommendation of the Rev. R. B. Aspland, then the minister of the Old chapel, he obtained a situation in the office of the *Manchester Guardian*. This situation he held until failing health compelled him to retire from a position which he had filled with much credit to himself for nearly eighteen years.

Mr. Harrop was an unassuming man. He made no pretensions to any superiority over his fellow-men. Yet no one could have been long in his company without perceiving that he had much independence and vigour of mind. He thought for himself on every subject that came before him, and his observations often shewed great acuteness as well as justness of perception. No one could be acquainted with him and doubt either the sincerity of his religious convictions or the integrity of his character. His nature was transparently candid and honest. A single desire to do his duty was the ruling principle of his life, and every word and action was but a manifestation of that desire.

Oct. 9, at Islington, aged 74, Sarah Susanna, widow of the late H. J. Preston, Esq., of Bloomsbury.

Oct. 12, at Brussels, aged 55, Rev. Edward Tagart, minister of the Unitarian chapel, little Portland Street, London.

In recording this sad and most unexpected loss to our church, we shall have the sympathy of all who take an interest in English Unitarianism, when we add the expression of our heartfelt sorrow at the loss of an able coadjutor and excellent man, from whom we had hoped to receive for many years to come important aid. We call the attention of our readers to the resolutions passed in reference to this untimely event by the Committee of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association. In a future number of our work, our readers will, we are authorized to announce, receive an account of Mr. Tagart's life and public services.

Oct. 22, Mr. Christopher Rawdon, a borough and county magistrate, died at his residence, Elm House, Anfield, near Liverpool. The deceased was a merchant of high standing, and the integrity of his public and private life secured him many friends among his fellow-townsmen. Three years after the passing of the Municipal Reform Act, he was a member of the Town Council. Mr. Rawdon was a sincere and consistent liberal in his political conduct, and he was highly esteemed amongst the Unitarian body, having, in connection with his brother, been mainly instrumental in

augmenting the stipends of the ministers of the poorer congregations of his communion.—*Manchester Guardian.* [Of this estimable man we are promised some account in our next No.]

Oct. 16, at Acrelands, near Lancaster, JOHN ARMSTRONG, Esq., a Magistrate and Deputy-lieutenant for the county of Lancaster, aged 72. Throughout a long and active life, during which he filled an important position in his town and neighbourhood, this gentleman distinguished himself by his public spirit and conscientious faithfulness in the discharge of his duties as an extensive employer of work-people and a magistrate. Several of his brother magistrates and leading inhabitants of the town, including the Vicar of Lancaster, marked their high respect for his public character by attending the interment; and the deeper grief of his dependents and of those nearest and dearest to him testified to the Christian kindness and genuine worth of his private character. It is no slight consolation to those who have lost a very dear and honoured friend, to know the respect in which he was so universally held by high and humble, inferiors and equals. Seldom has a man gone to the grave with a higher reputation for integrity and uprightness, for genuine kindness of heart and uncompromising faithfulness in the discharge of his public and private duties. Many will have to mourn the loss of a true benefactor, and some who never knew the source of the timely assistance secretly rendered them; for he was one of those who are pained to have their good deeds talked about. The congregation assembling in the old Presbyterian chapel in St. Nicholas Street have lost one of their most honoured members and principal supports, who never shrank from the open and consistent profession of his doctrinal views, nor truckled to the social despotism which is too often directed successfully against those in prominent positions who hold an unfashionable and unpopular faith. Many a tearful eye among the numerous worshipers in St. Nicholas-Street chapel, on the Sunday after the funeral, testified to the truth of the preacher's words respecting their departed friend; and our trust is strong that his sorrowful removal, while yet in the fulness of his usefulness and honours, may awaken and cherish renewed zeal and faithfulness in those who worshiped with him on earth, and who humbly hope to give with him a purer worship in heaven.

Oct. 25, at Beech House, Pendleton, aged 44, Sir JOHN POTTER, M.P. for Manchester. We hope to be favoured with some particulars of this much-respected man in a future No.

MARRIAGES.

Aug. 7, at Mersham, Upper Dry Creek, South Australia, the residence of Mr. T. Wright, Jun., by Rev. J. C. Woods, B.A., WALTER VERNON HERFORD, of Adelaide, solicitor, to ANNIE, third daughter of the late Dr. J. W. MACNEE, of Durrasdale, St. Vincent, New South Wales, formerly of Glasgow.

Oct. 5, at Little Comberton, by Rev. William Parkes, HENRY ASTLEY, third son of the late James DARBISHIRE, Esq., of Greenheys, Manchester, to ELIZA, only daughter of the late George Bing PAGET, Esq., of Sutton Bonnington.

Oct. 10, at Lord-Street chapel, Oldham, by Rev. C. W. Robberds, PETER ROOTH PLATT to MARY WRIGLEY.

Oct. 14, at the Church of the Divine Unity, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, by Rev. G. Harris, SAMUEL CHARLESWORTH, Esq., to MARY ALLEN, only daughter of Mr. John Jefferson HARRISON, both of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

Oct. 18, at the Unitarian chapel, Oldbury, near Birmingham, by Rev. John R. Beard, D.D., Manchester, the Rev. HENRY M'KEAN, Jun., minister of the chapel, to MARY, eldest daughter of Mr. William PROBERT, of Dingle Cottage, Rawley.

Oct. 17, at Cross-Street chapel, Manchester, by Rev. William Gaskell, M.A., Mr. JOSEPH PARKER to Miss JANE JONES, both of Hulme.

Oct. 18, at St. Mary's, Leamington, HENRY SMITH, Esq., of Birmingham, to MARIA LOUISA, daughter of the late John PHIPSON, Esq., of Edgbaston.

Oct. 19, at Bridport, Dorset, by Rev. J. L. Short, Mr. THOMAS MOORE to Miss AMY PURCHASE FRIEND.

Oct. 20, at Bank-Street chapel, Bolton, by Rev. Franklin Baker, M.A., Mr. JOSEPH PIMBLEY to MARY, daughter of Mr. James STATON, all of Bolton.

Oct. 27, at the Unitarian church, Hackney, by Rev. R. Brook Aspland, M.A., uncle of the bride, ALFRED, third son of the late Alderman LAWRENCE, of Westbourne Terrace, Hyde Park, to MARY ELIZABETH, elder daughter of Henry RIDGE, Esq., of Upper Clapton, and granddaughter of the late Rev. Robert Aspland.